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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SCHOOLING IN THE ISLE OF MAN 1650 - 1950

BY

PETER G. CLAMP

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF ....DOCTOR.OF.PHILOSOPHY............................

IN

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS...

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
SPRING 1986

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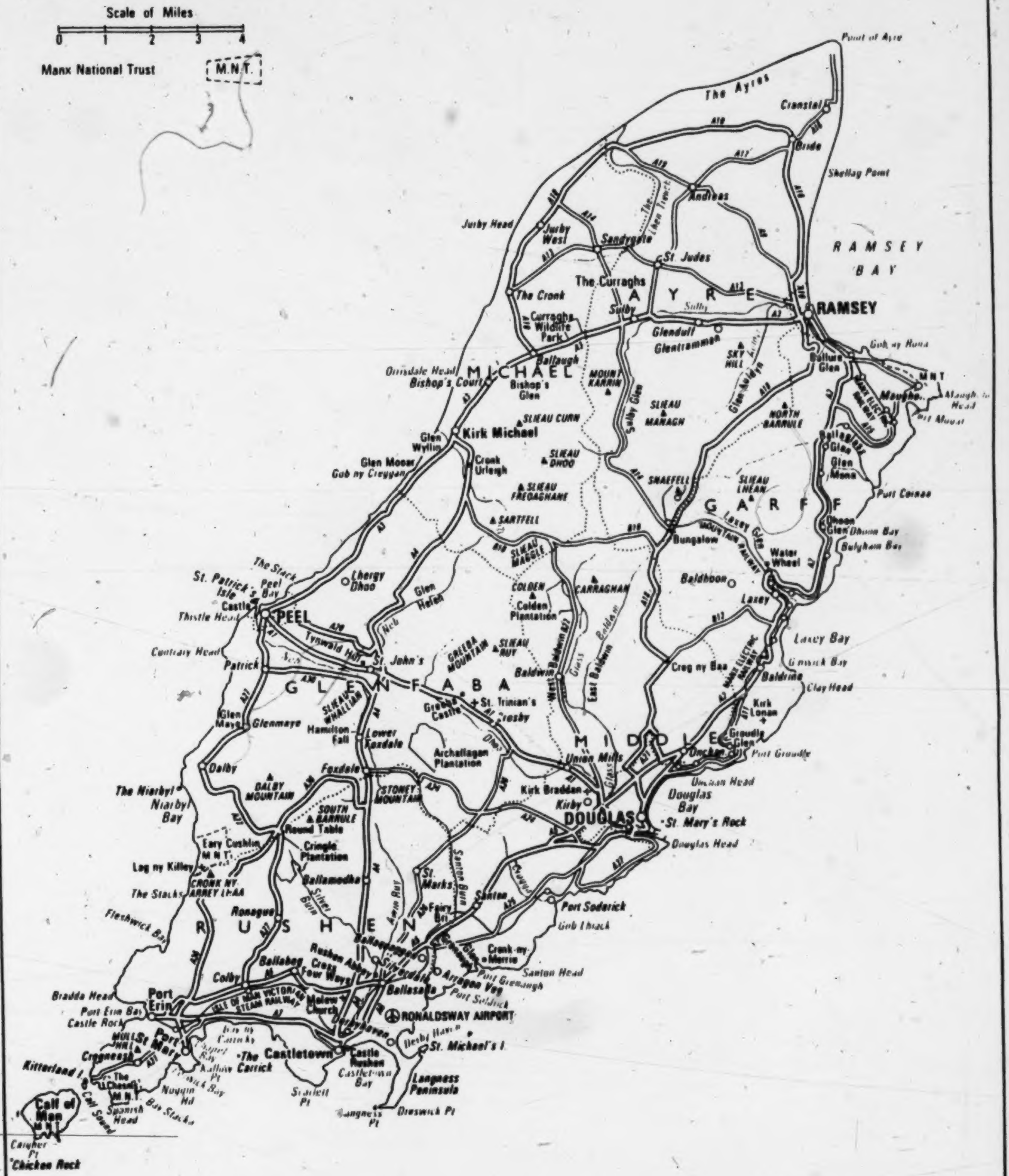
Dear countrymen, whate'er is left to us
Of ancient heritage -
Of manners, speech, of humours, polity
The limited horizon of our stage -
Old love, hope, fear,
All this I fain would fix upon the page;
That so the coming age,
Lost in the empire's mass,
Yet haply longing for their fathers, here
May see, as in a glass,
What they held dear -
May say, "'Twas thus and thus
They lived"; and, as the time-flood onward rolls,
Secure an anchor for their Keltic souls.

T.E. Brown, dedication, Fo'c's'le Yarns, 1887.

ISLE OF MAN


Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4
Manx National Trust
M.N.T.
Point of Ayre
The Ayres
Cranstal
Bride
Shellag Point
Andreas
Jurby Head
Jurby West
Sandygate
St. Judes
The Lhen Trench
RAMSEY BAY
The Curraghs
A Y R E
RAMSEY
The Cronk
Sulby
Curraghs Wildlife Park
Glenduff
Glentramman
SKY HILL
Ballaugh
Gob ny Rona
Ballure Glen
Orrisdale Head
M I C H A E L
MOUNT KARRIN
Bishop's Court
Bishop's Glen
Glen Auldyn
MNT
Maughold
Maughold Head
Port Mooar
SLIEAU MANAGH
NORTH BARRULE
SLIEAU CURN
Glen Wyllin
Kirk Michael
Sulby Glen
Ballaglass Glen
Glen Mona
Glen Mooar
Gob ny Creggan
Cronk Urleigh
SLIEAU DHOO
SNAEFELL
SLIEAU LHEAN
Port Cornaa
SLIEAU FREOAGHANE
G A R F F
SARTFELL
Dhoon Glen
Dhoon Bay
Bulgham Bay
Laxey Glen
Bungalow
Mountain Railway
SLIEAU RUY
SLIEAU MAGGLE
The Stack
Peel Bay
St. Patrick's Isle
Castle
PEEL
Thistle Head
Ellergy Dhoo
Glen Helen
COLDEN
Colden Plantation
CARRAGHAN
Baldhoon
Water Wheel
Laxey
Laxey Bay
Neb
Tynwald Hill
St. John's
Contrary Head
Patrick
GREEBA MOUNTAIN
Baldwin
West Baldwin
East Baldwin
Glass
Creg ny Baa
Garwick Bay
Baldrine
Clay Head
G L E N F A B A
SLIEAU WHALLIAN
Greeba Castle
St. Trinian's
Crosby
Glen Maye
Glenmaye
Hamilton Fall
Lower Foxdale
Archallagan Plantation
Dhoo
M I D D L E
Kirk Lonan
Groudle Glen
Port Groudle
Onchan
Onchan Head
Union Mills
Dalby
The Niarbyl
Niarbyl Bay
DALBY MOUNTAIN
Foxdale
STONEY MOUNTAIN
Kirk Braddan
Kirby
Douglas Bay
DOUGLAS
St. Mary's Rock
Douglas Head
SOUTH BARRULE
Round Table
Eary Cushlin
M.N.T.
Cringle Plantation
Lag ny Killey
CRONK NY ARREY LHAA
The Stacks
Ballamodha
St. Marks
Fairy Bri
Santon
Port Soderick
Gob Lhiack
Fleshwick Bay
Rushen
R U S H E N
Silver Burn
Santon Burn
Ballasalla
Cronk-ny-Merriu
Santon Head
Port Grenaugh
Ballabeg
Cross Four Ways
Rushen Abbey
Silverdale
Arragon Veg
Port Soldrick
Colby
Bradda Head
Port Erin
Port Erin Bay
Castle Rock
Isle of Man Victorian Steam Railway
Malew Church
RONALDSWAY AIRPORT
Derbyhaven
Derby Haven
St. Michael's I.
Port St Mary
Cregneash
HILL
The Chasms
Chapel Bay
Kallow Pt
Perwick Bay
Poyllvaaish
The Carrick
Castletown
Castle Rushen
Castletown Bay
Langness Peninsula
Scarlett Pt
Langness Pt
Dreswick Pt
Kitterland I.
Calf of Man
Calf Sound
Spanish Head
Noggin Hd
Bay Stacka
M.N.T.
Caigher Pt
Chicken Rock
A18
A17
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A9
A13
A14
A3
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A11

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled SCHOOLING IN THE ISLE OF MAN 1650 - 1950

submitted by PETER G. CLAMP

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in HISTORY OF EDUCATION

D. R. Pugh
Supervisor

Date: February 18, 1986

ABSTRACT

The Isle of Man came under the influence of the mainland initially by way of its English Lords of Man, administrators and clerics at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Thereafter, its Gaelic face was turned from west to east, as spiritual and temporal authorities sought to introduce increasing measures of anglicization to the Gaelic-speaking community. English schooling formed an important part of this process from the seventeenth century onwards.

As an economic thorn in England's side during the smuggling era (1700-1765), the Crown sought measures of redress, bringing Man into the English fold proper and terminating its ancient independence. It became a de facto off-shore English county, subject to mainland dictates in all things, including education. The provision of English schooling in Man, despite periods of neglect and the brief flowering of the Manx language in the latter part of the eighteenth century, came to be an important vehicle of anglicization, as the drive to replace Manx Gaelic with English achieved its purpose by the middle of the nineteenth century.

Island schools, of necessity, modelled themselves upon English exemplars, with local legislation from the de jure independent Court of Tynwald, Man's ancient parliament, conforming to enactments deemed desirable by the English administration and Whitehall. Variations were permitted in this transplanted English paradigm of schooling, thereby ensuring that anomalies were tolerated within reason, and that Man retained an element of distinctiveness that evidences itself to the present day.
The anglicizing energies of the Anglican Church in Man, under such bishops as Isaac Barrow and Baptiste Levinz in the post-Restoration era, saw the organization of English petty schooling, with compulsion, enacted. The ensuing years of Bishop Thomas Wilson saw Church Discipline wax and wane,

and with it, the effectiveness of the imposed schooling. With Bishop Mark Hildesley (1755-73), the language issue ceased to be of prime importance, Manx Gaelic briefly flowering then declining as the schools languished under an indifferent Imperial administration, following the Act of Revestment, 1765.

As the nineteenth century dawned, Manx emigration and English immigration changed Man's demographic composition. The period to 1850 saw education caught in the thrusts of numerous agencies and innovations, from Methodism to private academies, the National and British Societies, increased communication and monitorial to elite (public school) institutions. The island came under the Whitehall scheme of inspection for the first time in 1848 and was thereafter subject to conformity with the English code of operation. It was regarded as an English county with a difference, emulating English educational legislation after 1870 in compliance with mainland and Manx middle class wishes. Parsimony, parochialism and class-consciousness hampered both elementary and secondary development before the First World War, Tynwald using its power over education in a protracted struggle for greater independence from Westminster.

The period from 1921 saw modernization ushered in with centralization of administration, Hadow reorganization and the introduction of comprehensive schooling in 1946, the latter as an experiment which the Manx L.E.A. thought appropriate for Man's unique demographic and familial composition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my debt and gratitude to the many colleagues and friends who have helped me in the research and preparation of this study. In particular, I wish to thank my advisor, Professor Ross Pugh and my dissertation committee, comprising Dr. Donald Akenson, of Queens University, and Dr. Peter Miller, Dr. David Moss, Dr. Robert Carney and Dr. Henry Hodysh of the University of Alberta. Thanks are also extended to the following: Mrs. Susan Smith, Mrs. Mary Clamp, Doris and Tom Creer, Dr. Brian Titley, Dr. Peter McCormick, Mr. H.C, Wilkinson, O.B.E., Mr. Alun Davies, the Rev. David McIntosh, Mona Douglas, O.B.E. and the staffs of the Manx Museum Archives and the Interlibrary Loans Department of the University of Lethbridge, all of whom lent their support and gave their time without hesitation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A The Purpose, Scope and Justification of the Study

> There is not, and never has been, any idea of national independence, which, in the case of so small an island in the position of the Isle of Man, whould be manifestly absurd. It has always been, and must always be, subject to some greater power 1

> Schooling as a colonial and imperial institution is eminently reasonable once one understands who influences it and who controls the public funds which support it. 2

The Isle of Man lies at the centre of the British Isles, yet is a separate and clearly defined region geographically and politically. It is not part of the United Kingdom, but is a Crown dependency which enjoys a special relationship with the United Kingdom. The British sovereign, as Lord of Man, appoints a Lieutenant-Governor and through the Privy Council exercises certain controls. However, in regular day-to-day affairs, the country is run by the House of Keys and the Legislative Council. These two bodies may be likened to the British House of Commons and House of Lords, but, unlike the U.K. Parliament, the two Manx Chambers function as a unified body called the Tynwald Court.

Geographically, the island is 33 miles long, from its northern-most tip at the Point of Ayre, to the Chicken's Rock in the south. At its widest point, it is 13 miles from east to west coasts and the whole of the island occupies some 227 square miles in area. The nearest mainland landfall is Burrow Head, Galloway, 16 miles north of the Point of Ayre, while the English coast lies some 34 miles from Ramsey, this being the Cumbrian region of northern England. The distance from Peel, on Man's west coast, to Strangford Lough, Northern-Ireland, is 40 miles, while Holyhead, Wales, lies 55 miles south of the Calf of Man.[3] Over two-thirds of the island is cultivated, mainly on the Northern and Southern plains, while the centre of the island comprises a plateau of moorland and peaks, the highest of which is Snaefell (2,036 ft.). From this peak, on a clear day, the surrounding landfalls of Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales are visible.

The present population of Man consists of some 65,000 souls, two-fifths of whom live in Douglas, the principal town and administrative centre. Ramsey, Peel and Castletown together house about ten thousand people. People of retirement age (65 or over) now represent 20.6 percent of the population, while young people generally leave the island for employment on the mainland or in English-speaking countries such as Canada, the United States of America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Because of its size, there is a keen interest in population trends. Fears of the native Manx becoming "swamped" or "diluted" have surfaced periodically, the latest Census (1981) showing that Manx-born people on the island comprise only 53 percent of the population.[4] Large increases in the numbers of new residents on the island have resulted in the Manx Government's New Residents Policy, a measure introduced in the 'sixties when the Manx population was under sixty thousand. New residents are seen by Manx nationalists as a threat to Manx culture and the Manx environment, such immigration being resisted by this group from the period of the 1961 census, which revealed that 31 percent of the population were not island-born.[5]

"O Land of Our Birth," the Manx National Anthem, has within it the line "Thy throne of Home Rule." This indicates both Manx history and aspiration for the future: not since Viking times has Man been accorded so much self-determination, yet as a Crown dependency, where the Queen is toasted as "The Lord of Man," greater self-determination is constantly being sought. The Lieutenant-Governor is a constant reminder of the "colonial" past with England; the Home Office is still the department of control, to which the Manx must show deference in their petitions for home rule. The Crown still claims ultimate responsibility for the good government of the island and Westminister is responsible for Man's external relations. The Manx are consulted, however, before any international treaty is signed by the United Kingdom which would affect the island.

Economically, the island is geared to the tourist and his needs. Tourism, although seasonal, generates the lion's share of jobs for the Manx, while the traditional industries of fishing, mining and farming play a diminishing role in the overall contribution to the economy. Manufacturing, finance and construction have, of late, become the most important sectors of growth in Man, although tourism still reigns as the prime economic staple, despite declining income during the last decade. Man's relationship with the European Economic Community is unique within the United Kingdom. It has now associate status, which enables it to enjoy the advantages of access and the movement of goods, yet does not obligate it to contribute to E.E.C. funds. As a Member of the Peripheral Maritime Regions of Europe, Man is recognized as an off-shore European centre with direct access to all the Member States -- a position it enjoyed before the Act of Revestment (1765) terminated Man's quasi-legal status as an entrepot for brandy, wines, tobacco and sundry other goods destined for British and Continental ports during the Manx "smuggling" era.

The island's proximity in the Irish Sea has meant that it has always been subject to two great influences -- that of the Celtic fringe, which surrounds it on three sides (Ireland, Scotland and Wales) and that of England. Initially, the former influence -- the Celtic fringe -- proved to be the sphere to which Man was drawn, since Man was culturally an integral part of this entity until the seventeenth century. Its language, customs and general history placed it within the Celtic fold for many centuries, giving it an identity which was in part common yet distinct from its sister-cultures. However, the influence of England began to shape the island's destiny from the 1400's onward, as the small community was drawn inexorably into the orbit of the British Isles' most powerful military, economic, linguistic and political force. It was the classic example of the meeting of two cultures, where the one was much stronger and assertive that the other. The Isle of Man, being the diminutive David, had but little choice in the contest with the English Goliath, and after 1765, the English influence in Man cemented itself firmly within the island. This influence, as one might naturally suppose, manifested both good and bad aspects, and it is still the most dominant influence on the island today. Schooling as part of the influence of England, naturally must assume a place of importance in the scheme of things.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to discuss the development of education in the Isle of Man over the course of three centuries. However, schooling cannot be studied in bare isolation; reference must be made to the economic, religious and political forces which exercised themselves upon the fabric of Manx society during this time, since schooling mirrored much of the needs and ideology of these three interwoven entities. The history of schooling in Man will be therefore seen as an essential part of a process which has brought the Manx people to their present social and cultural position. Since no educational historian has, as yet, fully explored the nature of schooling in the Isle of Man over three hundred years, this study will bring new light to bear on an important part of the history of the British Isles.

Margot Cameron-Jones and Dollin Kelly, writing in 1973, observed that Manx education must be considered by reference not only to constitutional independence, but also to institutional imitation.[6] The cloning of the Manx into little Englishmen by the forces of Church and state entailed the imitation of mainland speech, customs and institutions. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the familiarization of Manx children with the English language was a sub-goal of Anglican spiritual salvation.[7] Manx attempts to preserve the old ways of life gradually lost their significance as anglicization, in imitative form, impressed itself upon the societal structure of the island. Yet the essential element of Manx individuality constantly asserted itself: assimilation was never quite total and the island retained something of its Celtic character. Man, however, insisted the Manx, was not England. It had its own needs peculiar to its societal composition and its history. As such, it demanded special consideration; it could never be truly England writ small.

The promotion of schooling was conducted under the auspices of English agencies both on and off the island, and, thus the schooling which developed was basically English-type schooling, though the Manx experience shaped it somewhat. The study, therefore, will attempt to explain the following matters:

1. How organized schooling came to be a part of the social infrastructure of the island.
2. Why Manx schooling took the form it did, how it responded to change from internal and external pressures and how conflicts were resolved.
3. Why the agencies, groups and individuals reponsible for the development of Manx schooling promoted, supported and controlled this schooling.

The three centuries under examination -- from 1650 to 1950 -- admittedly comprise a large time-frame for any study, however, this time-frame does permit the process of English schooling to be seen in true perspective. The very nature of the study demands that such an extended period of time be embraced in order to better view the Manx experience. Thus, its basic themes may be related to the constant presence of the English mainland in its many intrusive forms, from Church to philanthopy, and from Government to immigration, all of which determined the nature of schooling in Man.

Following this introductory chapter, chapter two -- "The Provision of English Schooling in Man" -- examines the Commonwealth and Restoration eras to the year 1700. The presence of enthnocentric English bishops in Man set in motion the operation of an English school "system" which had as its aim the first steps of anglicization of a rude, Celtic people. Chapter three -- "From Conflict to Conquest: the Wilsonian Years" -- examines the development of the "system" under the hegemony of Bishop Wilson, Man's most famed Churchman. Chapter four -- "The Decay of the Old, the Influx of the New: English Administration 1765-1820" -- follows the fortunes of schooling as English administrators enacted English policy upon the Manx, who saw their language temporarily blossom, then begin a century-long decline into extinction as a living vernacular. English immigration increased, as did Man emigration, and monitorial and private venture schools sprang up alongside the ailing parochial establishments. The Church struggled to fulfil its traditional educational role in the face of challenge from within and without.

Chapter five -- "From Brougham to Newcastle: Manx Schooling, English Influences and Imperial Intervention 1820-1860" -- traces the progress of monitorial schooling, the rise of Man's first public school -- King William's College -- and the condition of parochial schools. The National Society began its program of help, as did the British Government, through the Committee of Council, further extending the fingers of control. For the first time, extensive English inspections and reports were executed, readying the Manx for the era of Robert Lowe and the Revised Code of Regulations (1862), which affected Man exactly as it did England.

Chapter six -- "1860-1914: Political Reform and the Challenge to Imperial Control: the 1872 Act and its Aftermath -- an Exercise in Balkanization" -- examines education from the governorship of Lord Loch to that of Lord Raglan. During this period, the Manx imitated Forster's Education Act of 1870 with their own (1872), and commenced modernizing their island under a reformed House of Keys. Petty authorities hindered educational and administrative development and set the tone of development upon parish not island-wide dictates and needs. An Imperial investigation of the government of Man -- including schooling -- under Lord MacDonnell (1911) set the direction for political and educational moves for the future, while an Act (1907) to provide for secondary education on the island imitated the Balfour Act of 1902.

Chapter seven -- "The English Model in Man: Reorganization 1914-1950" -- concludes the study with an examination of Manx internal educational reorganization during the 'twenties to sweep away anachronistic Committees, introduce centralization and attempt to implement Hadow approaches to schooling to the out-break of the Second World War in 1939. At the conclusion of the war, a new form of schooling -- comprehensive schooling - was ushered onto the Manx educational stage, endorsed by English inspectors and the Manx people, despite its rejection by the mainland as a viable measure for English L.E.A.'s. The Butler Education Act of 1944 was then emulated with the Manx Education Act of 1949, the Act which basically governs insular education and schooling today. The conclusion then places the study within its proper context and offers some interpretations for the reader of the Manx experience. The work of Michael Hechter is of more than passing interest here, since it helps to place in perspective Manx educational development in the light of Man's association with England.[8]

B Review of the Related Literature and Source Materials

The Isle of Man has been regarded as an adjunct of England, an insular extension of the Lancashire coastline. English historians have either ignored its separate identity, or at best given it fleeting acknowledgement as part of the periphery of British history. The historians who have studied Manx educational history have been, for the most part, Manxmen, whose whig-minded values were the result of a conservative English education. They have also been individuals, who saw Manx educational history as being subsumed within Church affairs or the political progress of the state. As such, the works devoted to it make for narrow and barely adequate reading.

There are only two complete studies which have examined Manx educational history from the Renaissance to the early twentieth century. Both were written by Manxmen who were attending an English university, and both are M. Ed. dissertations. The works, written during the inter-war period, are narrow in their enquiry parameters and are little more than catalogues of happenings, tending to ignore events beyond the shores of Man. These two works, "The History of Manx Education," by D. Kermode Parr (1929) and "The Development of Education in the Isle of Man," by E.W. Corlett (1931)[9] are the foremost academic works relating solely to Manx education. Both are devoid of adequate foot-noting and documentation and are unquestioning, amateur accounts of the rise of an educational system in isolation. As such, they are defective expositions of what is actually a highly complicated topic and one which cannot be dealt with, with any degree of sophistication, by works of a hundred or so pages.

Prior and subsequent historical examinations have been in the form of chapters, or parts of chapters, concerning the Manx Church or Manx society. Still others have been articles in Manx or English journals and magazines or incidental parts of insular hagiographies. Consequently, such works as William Cubbon's "Early Schools and Schooling in Man." (1926) E.C. Owen's A Hundred Years of Education: King William's College, 1830-1930 (1930) and N.V. Crampton's "Schools in Man," (1956) form the next tier of investigation. As may be expected, they are superficial in nature, often flawed and prejudiced in their presentation and are myopic in vision.[10] Such eulogistic studies, often desultory in exposition, make for interesting but disappointing reading, their worth lying in their collective appreciation of a sense of development of schooling on the island.

Allied with this group are chapters or parts of chapters in books dealing with British education in general. Such works as M. Cameron-Jones and Dollin Kelly's "Education in the Isle of Man," in Education in Great Britain and Ireland (1973), R. Bell and N. Grant's Patterns of Education in the British Isles (1977) and J.E.G. de Montmorency's State Intervention in English Education (1902) are prime exemplars of this group, all giving a cursory view of Manx educational endeavours in a few pages, with Acts of Tynwald, personalities and individual schools singled out for emphasis, around which the "story of Manx schooling" is then explained. However, to be fair, Bell and Grant do raise the issue of English cultural imperialism and the imposition of the English model in Man. As a "minority" group, along with other Celtic areas in the United Kingdom, the concern which they show is for the lack of alternatives accorded such areas, and the drive for standarization according to the tenets of Whitehall. Cameron-Jones and Kelly similarly portray the moulding of the Manx system by the English as something less than desirable, but wax positive about the Manx personnel who, in increasing numbers, are returning to the island to teach Manx youngsters.

Further references to Manx educational history may be found by reading various chapters in C.W. Airne's The Story of the Isle of Man (1964), R.H. Kinvig's The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural and Political History (1975), Canon E.H. Stenning's Portrait of the Isle of Man (1968) and A.W. Moore's classic work, A History of the Isle of Man (2 volumes, 1900) and his Sodor and Man (1893). All yield something of interest in general terms, with Moore being especially valuable in terms of scholarship and sources of reference. Moore, a trained historian and Speaker of the House of Keys, still remains the island's undisputed academic in social, political and Church history, and as such his dealings with educational history, make for essential reference. A chapter for his History concerning the Douglas Board Schools was omitted from his work, probably because it did not portray the Church's dealings in education in a particularly good light. However, it still exists in manuscript form in the Manx Museum Library Archives, and can be perused upon request. Moore's other works, incidentally, dealing with the Manx language, customs, folk-lore and the like, are all useful for gleaning background information on the question of education.[11]

Offerings of a page or two in journals and magazines comprise the last stratum of Manx educational historiography. These are quite numerous and range from I.M. Killip's "Unwillingly to School" (JMM,1960) and Mona Douglas' "The Story of Manx Schools" (Manx Life, 1973) to "The Venerable Academy at Castletown" (JMM, 1938) and Anne Harrison's "The Mathematical School, Peel (JMM, 1976). These, in conjunction with such articles as, "The Claims and Needs of Children in Traditional Manx law and Custom" (IOMNHAS, 1954). "King William's College - 150 Years on" (Manx Life, 1983) and "200 Years of Sunday Schools: (Manx Life, 1980), can fill gaps in general and particular areas. Worthy of mention here are two extended articles by D. Kermode Parr in the 'twenties, "Compulsory Education in the Isle of Man 200 Years Ago," and "Pages in the History of Manx Education." These articles, from the Education Outlook (1927) and the Isle of Man Examiner (May 24, 1929) respectively, are valuable because of their focus on a number of details from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Neither is eulogistic in tone, which makes them all the more interesting and perhaps unique among their genre.

From the above cursory scan of the major contributions to Manx educational writings on the history of schooling, it is fair to say that the subject has yet to be treated with any degree of sophistication in exegesis, breadth and comprehension. The need for the study is therefore palpably apparent.

By contrast, the wealth of primary-source material on three centuries of Manx educational history makes for happier reading. If one includes the related fields of Manx Church history, economic and political history, the legislative, linguistic and social spheres, then one has indeed a considerable array of documents and testimonies with which to work. An excellent starting point as a guide to Manx historical research is William Cubbon's Bibliographic Literature of the Isle of Man (1933 and 1936).[12] His compilation of educational sources in volume one covers most histories, charters, pamphlets, reports of commissions, legislation, minutes of Council, Board and Council of Education reports, in addition to citations for specific references concerning individual institutions. It is, however, deficient in a number of references before the 1930's and is now in need of up-dating and supplementing.

Two collections are of importance to the topic: the Atholl Papers and the Bridge House Papers. The former is a record of the Dukes of Atholl's association with the island, while the latter constitutes the records of the Quayle family of Bridge House, Castletown. Both provide valuable insight into eighteenth century life on the island, including education, and are but two of a number of folios in the Manx Archives important for their collations of data on education and educationally-related documents.

The seventeenth century, which saw English schooling first organized on the island, yields some notable documents. Basic to this era of the Barrovian "cure" for Manx ignorance of the English language are documents relating to the Impropriate Fund (1666,) the Academic Students' Fund (1668 and 1686), the Royal Bounty (1675) and the Academic Master's Fund (1680). These and other charities which formed the foundation of English schooling in Man are well-documented in The Isle of Man Charities (1831) and Educational Endowments and Funds Available for Educational Purposes (1887). The writings of the Bishops, from Barrow to Levinz and the powerful Wilson prove to be of considerable worth and have been the subject of disclosure from the 1880's onwards, together with related articles on Church-state relations and linguistic problems. Among them are, David Craine's "The Bible in Manx," (IOMNHAS, 1957), B.H. Kelly's "Some Reflections on Church and State Relations in the Time of Bishop Wilson," (IOMNHAS, 1963) and Neil Mathieson's "Ecclesiastical Courts in the Isle of Man," (IOMNHAS, 1952).

Of paramount importance are the works by Englishmen of the era who were living on the island and describing the nature of Manx life around them. James Chaloner's A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man, Digested into Six Chapters (1656), William Blundell's A History of the Isle of Man (1648-56), Thomas Denton's "A Description of the Isle of Man with its Customers," (1681-2) and William Sacheverell's An Account of the Isle of Man (1702) make mention of schooling, language, customs and life-style, and generally provide an invaluable climate of insight into Anglo-Manx society at a time when the British Government began to exhibit more than just a passing economic interest in Man.

The eighteenth century is richer in its offerings, as the island came under the scrutiny of the English for political and economic reasons. Education declined and the island was treated much like a conquered territory by the English.

The Rev. C. Crutwell's The Works of the Rt. Reverent Father in God, Thomas Wilson, D.D. (1772), the Rev. Hugh Stowell's The Life of Thomas Wilson, D.D. (1829) and the Rev. Weedon Butler's Mark Hildesley, Memoirs (1799) all provide fairly revealing information on the two clerics who guided the island's religion for three quarters of the century. These, in conjunction with their sermons, memorandum books, diaries, licences petitions and appeals are invaluable in the provision of information as to the motives and progress of schooling for the islanders. Of particular interest are the manuscripts dealing with the Rev. Thomas Castley (M.M. MS 4283 4c), master of the Academic School, Castletown, a prime exemplar of English contempt for the Manx at this time, and the folios of the Sir George Moore Family (M.M. MS BH 4937 c), the Rev. John Clague collection (M.M. MS 669 A), the Rev. James Wilkes' diary (M.M. MS G 100) and the St. James' - Castletown correspondence (M.M. MS BH 48334 c). All deal with the era of Manx economic decline caused by the English policy and schooling accordingly suffers. During this period also, charlatans and various private educational ventures were established in the island.

Other sources of interest prove varied and often well-detailed in descriptions of the island. The English, once again, provide the eyes through which the Manx are viewed, as with the provocative "Isle of Man Detrimental to Great Britain." (Gentleman's Magazine, 1751) and "A Description of the Isle of Man; with a New and Accurate Map," (The London Magazine or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, 1754). The Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry for the Isle of Man, 1792 (M.M. MS F6424 x) is an historian's goldmine of the status of the island at the time, comparable with a latter-day Doomesday survey. "A Description of the Several Parishes of the Isle of Man," 1775 (M.M. MS 849 B) and John Feltham's Tour Through

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the Isle of Man in 1797 and 1798 both provide descriptions of schooling and general Manx life during the post-Revestment period of torpor, and are valuable for this.

Numerous secondary sources for the eighteenth century exist, those being worthy of mention,. include the Rev. Charles Medhurst's Life of Lady Betty Hastings (1914), W.O.B. Allen and Edmund McClure's Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1698-1898 (1898), "Lady Elizabeth Hastings Charity," (Manx Church Magazine, 1895), J.I. West's "John Wesley in the Isle of Man," (IOMNHAS, 1958), the Rev. E.C. Paton's Bishop Hildesley," (Ramsey Church Magazine, 1896) and others. These, if taken in collaboration with such sources as British Parliamentary records, e.g., Debrett's History, Debates and Proceedings of Both Houses of Parliament of Great Britain from the Year 1743 to the Year 17[illegible] (1792) the Statutes of the Isle of Man (1417 - the present) and sundry other works, such as John Wesley's Journal, can under-pin much, from legislation to politics and religion, all affecting the course of Manx schooling.

The nineteenth century literally explodes with primary source material, as may be expected. The early Manx newspapers such as the Manks Mercury, Briscoe's Douglas Advertiser, Manks Advertiser, Mona's Herald and the Manx Sun are particularly useful for their periodic exposition and questioning of education for the "Manks peasantry." The Anglo-Manx gentry, the newly-arrived English immigrants (constituting a "Manx" bourgeoisie) and British half-pay officers and their families, meanwhile, caused a new class of private school to appear, the papers being the chief medium of advertisement for these schools. Editorials and inquiries into education by the older, endowed grammar and parochial schools figure with a considerable degree of consistency in the successors of these papers, such as Mona's Herald, Isle of Man Times, Isle of Man Examiner, Peel City Guardian and the Ramsey Courier.

The Parochial Return of the Select Committee on the Education of the Poor (1818) provides a clear and concise picture on the state of Manx schooling at the close of the Regency period, when only one Manx language school was operating, under the auspices of the Rev. Hugh Stowell. His enthusiasm for Lancasterian schooling can be seen in such documents as his sermons of 1810 and 1813 (M.M. MS D 454 7612 and M.M. MS E 74 2) because of the necessity of educating the poor to their proper stations in life. John Moore's indenture for the first such monitorial school (M.M. MS 5633 c) is revealing, as is the log-book of the Castletown National School, from 1819 to 1850 (M.M. MS 5668 c). Insular commentaries such as H.A. Bullock's History of the Isle of Man (1816) and George Woods' Account of Past and Present State of the Isle of Man (1811) offer English impressions of Man during Napoleonic times , together with the state of schooling in the various parishes. The lengthy Records of St. Mark's Chapel in the Parish of Malew, Isle of Man: 1771-1864 (1878) reveal the dilemma of the lack of National Society funding for Manx schooling, and the subsequent resolution of the Society's oversight, while the historic Report by the Rev. H. Moseley (1847), prepared for the Committee of Council in Whitehall with respect to the parochial schools in Man, is revealing in that a measure of rate-supported, free (for the poor) and "compulsory" education was in effect, which, with licensed teachers, was termed "remarkable" by Moseley, since the Manx Education Act of 1703 laid the basis for such schooling. The 1851 Act, another document of interest, set parochial schooling on a new basis of operation, and ahead of England. The exhaustive Statistical View of the State of Education in the Isle of Man (1847) is a veritable wealth of information on virtually every school, Sunday, parish and grammar, on the island, while Joseph Train's Account of the Isle of Man (1845) and "The Church in the Isle of Man," (Fraser's Magazine, 1840), both offer vital accounts of the background to schooling during this era of transformation, especially with regard to religious and societal changes.[13]

The Rev. W.J. Kennedy's report on the inspection of Manx schools for the Committee of Council (1855-56) reveals conditions and Whitehall attitudes to the island, while sundry editions of Pigot and Sister's Directory (especially that of 1843) and the Royal Grant to Schoolmasters, of 1842 (M.M MS 5285/26), with Manx petitions of the era, provide details of interest to complete a mid-century assessment of the nature of Manx education.

The period from mid-century to the 1872 Education Act is well-supported with evidence by newspaper, commission and manuscript. The Newcastle Commission of 1861 provides interesting data on Manx schooling and Imperial expenses in Parliamentary grants to the island, while two documents, the Educational Statistics (1869) and the Report of the Education Commission (1871) furnish immediate pre-state intervention perspectives in a number of crucial areas. After 1872, the Board of Education Reports, produced on an annual basis, prove to be of immense value through to the present day (these change in title to the Council of Education, in 1899, then revert back again to the Board in 1947). These reports contain statistics of operation, problems encountered, transference of voluntary schools, attendance, monetary votes, school construction notices, as well as the reports of the English school inspectors. Douglas School Committee Reports also serve the same function, triennially, commencing in 1884.

The Oakley and Lindsell reports of 1880, enquiring into the deficiencies of elementary school provision in Man and Douglas are of importance, as are the pleas of the voluntaryists during the era to the Boer War, found in the press and in petitions, with the power politics of Board versus school committee coming to the fore. The Commission on Industrial, Technical and Middle Class Education (1889-1891) makes for disturbing reading in its recommendations for confirming the working class children in their station, with non-academic training, while the 1895-7 Commission on Secondary Education highlights the need for higher-grade schools on a district by district basis. Much information on educational matters in these and similar inquiries may be found in the Debates in the Manx Legislature, which covers Tynwald's two chambers -- the Council and the Keys. The exchanges of 1891-3 and 1897-8 are of particular interest dealing with free education, educating above station, emigration and education, voluntary schooling, financial problems and the pressures of the English situation upon Man. The Power of the established Church in Manx politics is also well-displayed in the machinations of Council and Tynwald Court. The Manxman is also an excellent source of anti-clerical feeling in the matter of extra funding for voluntary schools (1897-8), as is its exposition the state of Douglas Board Schools, an excellent exercise in pro-state schooling propaganda.

The twentieth century has a multitude of sources to which one may refer on the subject of education, in addition to those already stated. The issues of secondary education, the Hadow reorganization and the relationship of Man to England dominate the years to the century's half-way point, while warfare, economic doldrums, Manx constitutional reform and the pacing of English educational legislation form an immediate back-drop.

The Report on Secondary and Higher Elementary Education on the Island (1906) provides the official position of Manx education before the Education

Act of 1907, especially interesting because its chairman and chief author, Cyril Jackson, was a top Whitehall official who tried to bring about the demise of the petty authorities, much after the fashion of England's post-1902 situation. The Debates and Council of Education Reports prove invaluable during this era of lagging transition and are crucial to the anti-Imperial sentiment building in the Keys, and the attempts to gain independence from the colonial status assigned by Westminster. Indeed, the Keys petition of 1907, wanting Westminster's assent to constitutional reform, makes for revealing reading, politically and educationally. Westminster's reply -- the MacDonnell Report of the Constitution of the Isle of Man (1912) -- provides the English viewpoint in a number of spheres, with educational reorganization deemed fundamental because of Manx parochialism and inferior elementary and secondary education. To underscore what MacDonell had exposed, the "Rushen Educational Crisis" (1911) shook the island: central direction was weak, parochialism strong (see the Isle of Man Examiner for balanced, fair reporting of issues from here onwards).

The post-World War I situation to 1930 is a period of transition, during which time parochialism was ended and a Central Authority established (Education Act, 1920/1), thereby bringing Man into virtual alignment with England in practice and policy, The "Manx L.E.A." was thus better positioned to bring about Whitehall-urged educational change, in keeping with the mainland. The 1920 teachers' strike saw the Burnham Scale introduced to Man, further strengthening ties with the English system. The Council of Education Reports reveal that, following mainland drives to reorganize on the lines suggested by the Hadow Report, for elementary and secondary education, English inspectors regarded Man as being an educational backwater, isolated from progressive trends and outlook. Teacher recruitment from the mainland was difficult; Manx education was "out of step" with the mainland. The resultant Phipps Report of the Isle of Man Education Commission (1933) steered Manx schooling back in the direction Whitehall desired. This Report is central to Hadow reorganization in Man, and to an underlying reason for the Manx rationale for comprehensive schooling after the 1939-1945 War: the availability of appropriate buildings.

Of great importance for the years 1943-46 are the Annual Reports, wherein English inspectors and the Manx Director of Education, H.L. Fletcher, make their recommendations known for Man's future direction in secondary education. The evils of the eleven plus are delineated by both the H.M.I.'s and Fletcher, and, in deference to Man's special socio-cultural structure, a multilateral/comprehensive approach to secondary education was adopted. Once again, the Tynwald Debates, as well as Fletcher's reports, are essential reading here. Tynwald echoed Fletcher's fears about following England's lead in entrenching a two-track system of schooling, based -- according to its critics -- upon class lines, and instead endorsed Fletcher's "experiment." Man thus became, with Anglesey, the first British authority to espouse comprehensive schooling. By September, 1948, it was fully operational over the whole island. Only one thing remained to bring Man into alignment with England's 1944 provisions: a copy-cat Act, and this was achieved in 1949. The education Act, 1949, is still the basic document under which Manx education operates today.

Secondary sources for the twentieth century encompass numerous journals, magazines, prospectuses, etc., and the following books are useful for reference to background information in various areas: T.A. Bawden, L.S. Garrad, J.K. Qualtrough and J.W. Scatchard, Industrial Archaeology of the Isle of Man (1972), David Craine, Tynwald, R.D. Farrant, Mann: Its Land Tenure, Constitution, Lord's Rent and Deemsters (1937).

T. Faragher, ed., Isle of Man Official Year Book: 1984 (1984), T. Faragher, ed., Isle of Man Official Yearbook: 1985 (1985), Robin Pedley, Comprehensive Schools Today (1954) and D.G. Kermode, Devolution at Work: A Class Study of the Isle of Man (1979). This last work especially is of great value in tracing Manx attempts at attaining some measure of political and economic independence from England, and is well-documented and thorough in its use of sources, both English and Manx.

Special mention must be made of the value of interviews with regard to Manx education since the turn of this century. Apart from the willingness of ordinary Manx folk to discuss what their schooling was like one can readily find Manx educational leaders like H.C. Wilkinson and Alun Davies, voluntaryists like the Rev. David McIntosh and Manx-Gaelic advocates, like Mona Douglas, more than willing to give help in any research endeavours. Indeed, such people are invaluable if one desires to seek varying points of view, and their insights into various areas of educational development on the island have proved to be humorous, unique and enlightening. Such sources of information on Manx history cannot be over-looked in the composition of a valid picture of the past.

C Historical Background

The Isle of Man has been the home of the Celts since about 300 B.C. when they left their homeland in Central Europe and sought new territories in which to live. They were not the original inhabitants of the island, however; some 3,000 years prior, Picts from France and Spain migrated to Man, and before them Paleolithic people inhabited the area, when it was joined to the rest of Europe as part of a great table land. But these latter people paled before the Celts, who ushered in the Iron Age to Man, an island now separated from other landfalls around it by the waters of the Irish Sea.

The Manx Celts did not develop such a highly civilized culture as their mainland counterparts, and the period from their arrival to the Roman withdrawal from Britain in 410 A.D. might well be termed a period of mysterious isolation. The Romans knew that the island existed: Julius Caesar, in 54 B.C. called it "Mona" and Pliny in 23 A.D. called it "Monapia," but they left it alone. So did the Anglo-Saxons after them, and it was left to the Irish monks in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. to bring it back into the realm of the Celtic world.

The followers of St. Patrick and St. Columba introduced the Manx Celts to Christianity, which they readily accepted, and dozens of Keeills (chapels) were constructed, some two hundred of which may be seen today. Manx Celtic crosses were erected alongside the Keeills, and literature and learning began to flower under Irish guidance. The Manx language flourished, its link with Irish Gaelic being entrenched by Manxmen being schooled in Ireland. Manx Gaelic is classified today as q-Celtic or Goidelic, with old Irish and Scottish Gaelic, while Welsh, Cornish and Breton-Gaelic are known as p-Celtic or Brythonic. Indeed, there was free interchange between all the Gaelic lands at this time, but especially between the q-Gaelic areas of Ireland, Man and Scotland, all three showing similarities of custom, mythology, land divisions and music, as well as language and literature. The cultural homogeneity of all the Celtic lands bordering the Irish Sea ensured that, although individual histories were concerned with particular clans, "in their broader aspects, they constituted the history of Gaeldom, not of one country alone."[14]

Manx folklore has many traces of these commonalities, especially in bardic histories, legends, laws and poems, and the bardic schools of Man must have been quite accomplished because the Chief Bard of Ireland, Senchan Torpeist, visiting Man about the year 650 A.D., witnessed fifty of his Irish bards beaten in a verse contest with a Manx woman.[15] Only Torpeist himself bested the Manxwoman. With the "udal" landholding system, Man was like the other Celtic areas also: land, held by a chieftain, was passed on to children, and this is evident today by the prefix "Balla" -- meaning homestead -- in front of family names for farms and villages (the comparable Irish prefix in "Bally."). Ballakelly, Ballanorris, Ballasalla, Ballabunt and Ballaugh are examples of this name-trait in Man, there being literally hundreds of such names throughout the island. Family names during this time still retained the "Maq" in the prefix, e.g., McLucas, MacWilliam, M'Ceorc and M'Phail, which, when later dropped, gave rise to the peculiar Manx name system which sees all names pronounced with an initial hard "C" -- Clucas, Kissack, Kennaugh, Quilliam, Quirk, Quayle, Cubbon, Creer and Kelly.[16]

This early Christian period was eclipsed by the coming of the Vikings, in 798 A.D., an event which brought with it the "Scandinavian" period in Manx history, which lasted approximately from 800 A.D. to 1266 A.D. Trade and cultural relations underwent drastic change as the Norwegian Vikings became settlers, intermarrying with the native Celts. Manx scholarship and Christian schools all but disappeared for a time, the Norwegians bringing paganism and Runic writing to supplant the religion and Irish script which they found. The island came under the rule of the Scandinavain kings of Dublin around 850 A.D., and was thence ruled by Norway, King Harold of Norway incorporating all the Western Isles (Skye, Mull, Islay, Aran, Lewis, etc.) with the Isle of Man into the Kingdom of the Sudreys and Man. Since Man was the most important of these thirty-two isles (being the wealthiest), it became the seat of government with its Thingvollr, comprising thirty-two members: Man appointed sixteen representatives, while the other sixteen came from the Hebrides, each sending four men from the four groups of isles. This parliament celebrated its millenium in 1979 and is, with Iceland's, the oldest surviving parliament in the world.

The King and his assembly were assisted in their duties by special men known as Deemsters, who aided in the making of laws. These deemsters memorized the law, carrying it "in their breasts," and this "breast law" remained unwritten until 1690, when it was committed to writing by Deemster Parr in his Abstract of the Law Customs and Ordinances of the Isle of Man.[17] The First Deemster and Clerk of the Rolls is still an important office in Tynwald, and since the Common Law of England is not applicable in Man, the two Deemsters are charged even today with seeing that Manx Common Law (derived from breastlaw) is adhered to.

By 1156, only the two northern groups of the Hebrides, or the Outer Isles, retained their association with Man. The Hebridean membership of the House of Keys was therefore reduced to eight, making for twenty-four members, the pattern established for today's Keys, although by 1266 the representation from the Hebrides had ceased.

Norwegian suzerainty ceased in 1266, the Manx having long since utilized their own kings. Godred Crovan -- King Orry -- assumed the Kingship of Man in 1079 and his descendants ruled until 1266, bearing such names as Olaf, Godred, Reginald, Harald and Magnus. Celtic names do not appear in this list, since the Celts assumed an inferior role in governance. However, Norse power was eclipsed by the middle of the thirteenth century but the Norsemen left much in the way of tangible traces in Man, from place names (Ronaldsway, Garwick, Crosby, Fleshwick, Sulby) to family names: Corkell (MacThorkell, Thor's Kettle) Crennel (MacRegnal, Ruler of the gods) and Kinvig (the creek man). They also gave Man the "watch and ward" system of the "Crosh Vusta" (fiery cross), Captains of the Parish, sheadings (for warship out-fitting) and Scandinavian crosses, which took their place beside Celtic crosses as the island reverted to Christianity with Manx kingship.

The first Bishop of Sodor and Man was appointed in 1079, fittingly a Manxman, Hamond.[18] The Chronicon Manniae recorded Manx history, 1134-1374, with the founding of Rushen Abbey, a Cistercian house where Latin learning once again flourished. Strangely, the Scandinavians left little trace of their language in the Manx language as it thrived and has been received today. Gaelic may well have prevailed because women taught the language to their children, while Norse, the language of conquerors and of the upper class, died away as connection with Norway faltered and faded. Scottish Gaelic was re-introduced into the island after 1266, with the Scottish period of rule, and thus q-Gaelic was reinforced as the vernacular of all.

Scotland's rule of Man was troubled and bloody and the island became a pawn in the struggle between Scotland and England. It was periodically plundered by both sides, its kingship changing hands as the tides of war moved north and south.[19] From 1333, the island became effectively ruled by

England and Englishmen, who, as Lords of Mann (after 1405) and governors and bishops, set the seal on the ultimate fate of the Manx in language, schooling and economic ties.

With the English Crown's ownership of Man, the island became an appendage to the estates of English nobility. King Henry IV gave the island to Sir John Stanley in 1405 (after depriving Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, of it in 1403, because of his rebellion) and there began a dynasty which lasted until 1736, as the family's head assumed the title of Earl of Derby and Lord of Man.

The first Stanley never visited Man, but the second, his son John, promoted the systematic curbing of Church power and the strengthening of the civil authority. Manx laws were codified and the relative rights of the Lord of Man, Church and people were set down. All court cases had to be documented, trial by combat was abolished and the jury system was adopted. It was despotic rule, but it established relative security and peace. Thereafter followed a period of absentee rule which lasted for a hundred years, during which time the Reformation came. The English Crown seized the Manx monasteries of Rushen Abbey, the nunnery of Douglas and the Friary of Bemaken.[20] The first Protestant Bishop of Sodor and Man was appointed in 1555 (Thomas Stanley), but no reference to Protestant teaching appears until 1580.

The 4th Earl, Henry, established the Lord's Custom Rates, in an effort to increase his revenue. Man was becoming a haven for imported goods from the Continent which were re-distributed to England by English smuggler-merchants. Even with Lord's Rates, Manx tariffs were low, thereby attracting English entrepreneurs. This economic lure was to cause great anguish to England until 1765, when the island was purchased from the Derby family by an exasperated England, which wanted its Irish Sea back door economically and militarily secure.

During the greater part of the sixteenth century, the Manx tended to be catholic about their customs and religion in more ways than one: they clung to the old ways every bit as much as did their cousins in Ireland and tended to shun or to be afraid of new ideas. This was in part due to the isolation of Man and in part to the ignorance of the English language. There were no books in the Manx tongue at all until the first attempt at a translation of the Book of Common Prayer was made in 1611, and this only in manuscript form. Catholicism was also prolonged by the third Earl, Edward, himself a staunch Catholic during the length of his lordship (1521-1572), and it was not until 1610 that the Manx clergy were declared free to marry -- the English clergy having been free to do so since 1549.

From 1594 to 1610 Elizabeth I and James I appointed governors to the island to rule on their behalf, there being a gap in the Derby Lordship, but a lawsuit placed the family back in charge (1612), with Elizabeth, Countess of Derby, being the de facto ruler from her court at Castle Rushen. Her son, James, assumed power in 1627, and, as the 7th Earl in 1642, became known as "The Great Stanley" or "The Great Earl." He took the Manx into the English Civil War on the side of the Royalists, the island becoming a veritable bastion of Derby-ordered loyalism. Unfortunately, he assumed the lordship in times when neo-feudal notions of proprietorship and the divine right of kings were not popular, and his own efforts to emulate the work of his king, Charles I, were not looked upon favourably by the Manx. He failed to appreciate the claims of the security of the Manx people when he set the island on a quasi-feudal footing (see Chapter 2) with a feudal manor/tenant system of landholding. This alienated the people, who were championed at this time by the powerful Christian family of Milntown. No less than five members of this family had been deemsters between 1500 and 1600, and the last deemster, Ewan Christian, fathered Illiam Dhone, or William Christian, the Manx national hero, while Illiam's co-rebel against the Derby family, Edward Christian, was his cousin. Fletcher Christian, of Bounty fame, was a direct descendant of this family.

With the approach of the English Civil war, the 7th Earl turned Man into a fortress. Seven camps were formed -- three in the north and four in the south of the island. New forts were erected at Fort Island (Derby Fort), Ramsey (Fort Loyal) and at the Point of Ayre. An earthwork was constructed at Ballachurry, Andreas, and a 300-man troop of cavalry was raised, which saw action in England. In addition, the garrisons of Castle Rushen and Peel Castle were strengthened and a small fleet of ships was out-fitted, this latter Manx squadron successfully beating off two attacks by parliamentarian warships. But troubles in England saw themselves repeated in Man, and enforced militarization of the island, in aid of a cause barely understood by the Manx, touched every family.

With the defeat of the Royalist forces by Cromwell, James took up residence in Man and refused to surrender the island, even after Charles I's death in 1649. The Manx grew more restless as the burdens of taxation, military service, the enforced quartering of troops and the building of fortifications progressed. Discontent grew with the defeats of the Royalists when the war flared up yet again in 1650. The island was ripe for rebellion when The Great Earl left the island in 1651 with his Manx troops, anxious to fight for Charles' son, leaving in charge William Christian as Receiver-General and commander of the militia.

The Manx were defeated at Wigan and the Earl was captured at Chester, trying to escape to the Isle of Man and sanctuary. After a summary trial, Cromwell had him executed at Bolton, and he ascended the scaffold still thinking that his island was safe and secure as the pivot of Royalist resistance in and around the Irish Sea. He was mistaken. Cromwell had crushed the Irish at Drogheda and recommended a subjection which would have its effects centuries afterwards; the Scots were being humbled at Dunbar and Worcester, and their country, like that of the Irish, was to experience the rule of the English as part of the Protectorate. It was only a matter of time before the English turned their attention to the last remaining stronghold of Royalism -- the Isle of Man.

To this end, Colonel Duckinfield's parliamentarian force sailed from the Chester River on the 18th September. It comprised forty-four ships and carried three regiments of foot and two troops of horse. It anchored in Ramsey Bay on the 25th September and was greeted by William Christian and eight hundred militiamen, who announced to Duckinfield that the island would be surrendered to the English on the sole condition that the Manx might enjoy the "lawes and liberties as formerly they had."[21]

By the end of September, 1651, the last two strongholds of Royalism, Castle Rushen and Peel Castle, had been brought to heel. The Commonwealth period of Manx history was at hand, and,although they did not realize it, the Manx had merely changed masters. As Puritan officials of Lord Fairfax, the new Lord of Man, set about their fair but firm administration, changes were in the wind for the Manx. One of these was the founding of a free school in each of the towns with money taken from the Bishop's salary. It was the start of a long journey into literacy under English auspices, which saw the rise and fall of the Manx language and its supplanting by English. It was the start of schooling proper for the Manx, according to the desires of the dominant group, the English. It was to be a journey of great interest and import for those who were obliged to undertake it, and for those who chose to direct it.

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[2] **Martin Carnoy,** Education as Cultural Imperialism (New York: David McKay Company Inc., 1974), p. 24.

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[4] **Ibid.,** p. 20

[5] **Ibid.** The 1981 census revealed that 59 percent of the population was Manx-born, although this in no way reflects Celtic origins. The New Residents Policy actually does not restrict immigration, but it does attempt to woo retired people and possible future employers to the island, both groups being deemed beneficial to the economy of the island.

[6] **Margot Cameron-Jones and Dollin Kelly,** "Education in the Isle of Man," in Education in Great Britain and Ireland (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 28.

[7] **Ibid.,** pp. 28-29.

[8] **Michael Hechter,** Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development 1536-1966 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 11.

[9] **D. Kermode Parr,** "The History of Manx Education," (M. Ed. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1929) MM MS D 426 2069 B, and E.W. Corlett, "The Development of Education in the Isle of Man," (M. Ed. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1931) MM MS 1531 c.

[10] **William Cubbon,** "Early Schools and Schooling in Man," IOMNHAS 3 (May 1925-April 1926: 1927): 106-129; E.C. Owen, A Hundred Years of Education: King William's College 1830-1930 (Douglas: Brown and Son, 1930), and N.V. Crampton, "Schools in Man," IOMNHAS 2 (April 1946-March 1950: 1956): 484-498.

[11] See, for instance: The Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man (Douglas: Brown and Son, 1891; reprint ed., Wakefield, Yorkshire: S.R. Publishers Ltd., 1971); Manx Surnames and Placenames (London: E. Stock, 1890); Manx Worthies (Douglas: S. Broadbent and Company Ltd., 1901; reprint ed., Manx Museum and National Trust, 1971); "An Historical Sketch of the Manx Language, with an Account of the Sources from which a Knowledge of it Can be Acquired," Yn Lioar Manninagh or IOMNHAS 1 (March 1880-1892): 129-134); and "Isle of Man." Encyclopedia Britannica, 13th ed.

[12] **William Cubbon,** Bibliographic Literature of the Isle of Man 2 vols. (Oxford: University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1933 and 1936), vol. 1.

[13] **James Rosser's** History of Methodism in the Isle of Man (Douglas:

Mary A. Quiggin, 1847) is also worthy of mention, since, although it tends to be hagiographic, does yield a certain amount of information on the statistics of Methodist schooling, both Sunday and day, and, as such, corroborates data in the Statistical View of the State of Education of the same year.

[14] **Mona Douglas,** "The Story of Manx Schools." Manx Life, May/June, 1973, p. 59.

[15] **Ibid.** This was noted in Cormac's Glossary.

[16] **E.H. Stenning,** Portrait of the Isle of Man (London: Robert Hale, 1958, reprint ed., 1968), p. 37. The peculiar nature of the extended family in Man was to have interesting results for Manx education in the period under investigation, especially during the twentieth century. English HMI's were to make particular mention of it in recommending a modified form of educational endeavors for Man after the end of World War II, an endeavour which became comprehensive in nature. Family jealousies were ~~thus~~ ameliorated by the introduction of what was seen to be a more equal manner of schooling, rather than a "two-track" (grammar and secondary modern) system.

[17] **R.H. Kinvig,** The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural and Political History (Liverpool: University Press, 1975), p. 74.

[18] Sodor is derived from "Sudrey" -- the Southern Isles -- and its Latin version is thus retained in the Bishop's title of Sodor and Man. (see: Stenning, Portrait, p. 74, and Kinvig, History, pp. 77-79).

[19] To show what a football the Isle of Man had become the following historical characters assumed the kingship of Man between 1266 and 1405: Alexander III, Margaret of Scotland Edward I, Edward II, Thomas Randolph, William de Montecute, William le Scrope and Henry Percy of Northumberland. In addition, Richard de Burgh, John Balliol, Piers Caveston, Robert Bruce, the Earl of Moray and Richard de Mandeville all ruled Man for short periods -- some as governors, some as plunderers.

[20] The Act of 1539, which dissolved all monasteries, omitted to mention the Isle of Man. Nevertheless, Manx monastic lands were seized shortly afterwards. No Manx statute was passed to either help or hinder this situation, despite the fact that this occurred during the lordship of the 3rd Earl, Edward, who was a staunch Catholic.

[21] **A.W. Moore,** A History of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900; repring ed., Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust, 1977), vol. 1, p. 269.

CHAPTER II

THE PROVISION OF ENGLISH SCHOOLING IN MAN

A. The Commonwealth Era: 1651-60: High Hopes Disappointed

B. Bishop Barrow's "Cure", Anglicization & Salvation: 1660-1700

The Commonwealth era, according to Spencer Walpole, a nineteenth century governor of the island, saw the Manx people sink into a condition of chronic misery. Man was a forgotten backwater under the control of Lord Thomas Fairfax, who was presented with the island and who preferred to remain an absentee landlord.[1] Poverty was widespread and, as Walpole states, it was this poverty which prepared the way for the anglicization of Man.[2]

The advent of Commonwealth rule brought great promise in Man, and indeed, this promise of a better world had prompted William Christian's ready submission to the Parliamentarians in 1651. Christia[illegible] deserted the Royalist cause in the hopes of enlisting parliament[illegible]elp to abolish the Stanley lordship, redress land grievances and establish a Manx national government.[3] Parliament was to disappoint Christian with respect to these hopes, but it did bundle Derby's widow, Charlotte from the island, abolish the bishopric of Sodor and Man, and install Christian as governor in 1656, this latter act being a sop to Manx nationalist feeling, which had expected some form of self-determination to come on the heels of a successful rebellion.

The condition of the people during this period is well documented by William Blundell and James Chaloner, two Englishmen who lived on the island at the time, Blundell as a private citizen and Chaloner who succeeded Christian as governor (1658-60), and was removed by Fairfax for trying to effect changes in land tenure favourable to the Manx tenants.[4] Blundell paints a picture of meanness, subsistence-living and a dependency upon the outside world for innumerable goods of the most basic kind. Of Manx housing, he had this to say:

> Habitations are mere hovels, compacted of stones and clay for the walls, thatched with broom, most commonly containing one room only. Very few have two rooms, have no upper rooms ... nor any ceiling but the thatch itself, with rafters, yet in this smoking ... doth the man, his wife and children cohabit, ... with ye geese and ducks under ye bed, the cocks and hens over his head, the cow and calf at the bed's foot ... their constant diet is only salt butter, herrings and oat cakes, here made almost as thin as paper leaf ... their drink is either simple water, or water mixt with milk or at best buttermilk.[5]

He observed that they had to import almost all manufactured goods, especially "woolen cloth, hats, stuff for suits, besides bay salt to barrel up their herrings and powdered beef, herrings and other fish, wool, coal, iron, pitch, tar, soap, starch rosen with many others ..."[6] Manual trades in the towns were few, artisans being composed mainly of tailors, shoemakers, weavers and smiths, with but one of each in the major population centres of Ramsey, Peel, Castletown and Douglas.[7] As Blundell further noted, poor though the people were, they paid their tithes willingly upon demand to their ministers, men he deemed to be "not unlearned."[8] Indeed, he paid the Manx clergy a compliment which stands in marked contrast to the low opinion offered by Bishop Barrow but a few years later, the compliment being: "I did not converse wth any one (yet I discoursed with diverse) but yt found him both a schollar and discreet."[9] These same clergymen were to horrify Barrow with their ignorance, whom he found to be anything but scholars and discreet. But the ordinary people Blundell found to be "very ignorant for want,"[10] and of course, they spoke Manx-Gaelic, with English words interjected to accommodate "Manners, Foraign Merchandize and new Inventions."[11] Few, noted Chaloner, spoke the English tongue.[12] This did not include the clergy, who were bilingual and were "generally Natives and have had their whole education in the Isle, ..." [13] He also held them to be good preachers. But a bilingual and island-educated clergy could not alleviate poverty, a fact of life in Man which Chaloner reckoned as being the island's greatest security, although security from what inroads Chaloner left unsaid. [14]

But Lord Fairfax, although an absentee landlord, did pause to give thought to the education of the Manx. He ordered that a common free school was to be founded in each of the four major towns -- Castletown, Ramsey, Douglas and Peel -- although the exact nature and size of these schools is open to interpretation. D. Kermode Parr states: "the four Commonwealth schools may have been grammar schools, offering a higher education than could have been obtained in the parish schools, but there is no actual proof that they were." [15] Chaloner mentions the four schools as existing at the time of his writing, but he does not state whether they were grammar schools, or petty schools, or a combination of both. At any rate, four schools came into existence during the Commonwealth era, an era which placed great emphasis upon education and literacy, for reading the Bible, promoting greater democracy and meritocratic elevation and general well-being.[16] In twenty years of tracts and pamphlets urging educational reform and a new beginning (1640-60), the work of Milton, Dury, Comenius and Hartlib, harkening to Baconian inductionism, brought about what Lawrence Stone has termed the "educational revolution" during the age of militant Puritanism.[17] However, as John Lawson and Harold Silver observe, "set against the copious programmes of educational reform put forward ... by puritan progressives, the achievements of the Long Parliament and Protectorate amounted to very little."[18]

As to the other types of schools which existed in Man prior to the Fairfax foundations, William Cubbon, D. Kermode Parr, N.V. Crampton and E.W. Corlett all cite evidence as to the existence of petty schools, premised upon the Visitation of Bishop Foster of 1634.[19] Foster's questionnaire asked, among other things: "Do any scholmr. keep schole without licence?" The answers to this question show that there were schools and that all the schoolmasters had the necessary clerical licence. Typical of the replies which were positive is that of the respondent from Kirk Malew: "There is no schoole kept in our pish but one, ye Mr whereof saies he hath his licence."[20] Not every parish replied that it possessed a petty school, however, nor can it be ascertained what was taught in the schools, or how the schoolmasters taught. But at least some parishes did have a school with a duly-licensed schoolmaster.

These petty schools probably operated in a mixture of Manx and English and provided some form of education for Manx-speaking youngsters. Such schools would have functioned in the more populous parishes and would have complemented the garrison schools which were attached to Castle Peel and Castle Rushen (Castletown). As Kermode Parr states, when considering Manx education from 1600 to the Commonwealth period, the Visitation of Bishop Foster "makes it absolutely certain that the system of parish schools kept by masters who were licensed by the Bishop was in full swing by 1634."[21] Perhaps it would be an overstatement to call what existed a "system," but there can be no doubt that many parishes possessed the means of educating children in a small establishment.

But also of significance is the form of Bishop Foster's question. Obviously, he may also have learned that ordinary laymen were operating in Manx schools without a bishop's licence -- a document -- which attested to the holder's "correct" faith. If there were laymen teaching in the petty schools, were there also clergymen performing the same task? Perhaps some insight into this matter might be gleaned from the example of Hugh Cannell, vicar of Kirk Michael, who kept a school for the children of his parish. Cannell was credited by Chaloner, in 1658 as being "the first that taught the Manks to read the Scriptures in the Manks tongue."[22] What Cannell had done was to make a translation of the Scriptures into Manx, then teach his students from the manuscripts which he had made. He had solved a problem which **had** plagued the Manx language for generations: he had provided an alternative to English books and readers, and was teaching the children to read their own language (there was no printed Manx at this time, Bishop Phillips' translated Prayer Book of 1611 being only a manuscript edition). Cannell's orthography was based upon that of Phillips' manuscript and was obviously successful.

If Cannell's teaching of Manx was regarded as worthy of note, then perhaps the schools of this time operated mainly in English -- or at least, the teaching of reading and writing was in English; general class conversation may have been in Manx. Indeed, it would have been extremely difficult for any non-Manx speaker to have taught ordinary children, since the language barrier would have proved an obstacle of considerable proportion. The teacher therefore had to have some knowledge of Manx in order to be able to function adequately in a school and society which used the Manx language as the predominant tongue, English being confined to the gentry at this time.

Further evidence of the nature of schooling during these years may be taken from the will of Philip Christian, a Manx clothworker who had become wealthy in London. By his will of 1653, he endowed a school in Peel for "the use of ye poorest mens sonns and daughters of the said Towne of Peel inhabiting there and not otherwise."[23] This school, which was erected in Peel in 1689, and is still operating as an elementary school, was to be free from the jurisdiction of the Church ordinary, was to be furnished with "small bookes, penn, incke and paper, or what shall be thought most fitt by the Minister and Schoolmaster of the Towne of Peele," and was free of denominational religious teaching. The school was to receive money to pay the salary of the schoolmaster, some "eighteene pounds a yeare for his pains,"[24] and there was also provision made for two apprentices' education, should it so be wished. Nowhere, however, was there any stipulation made as to the language of instruction; it may be concluded that the language would initially have been Manx, with reading and writing taking the form of English.

Needless to say, the "poorest mens sonns and daughters" would have been the children of fishermen, labourers and the like, who would all have spoken Manx at home and in the workplace; their children, similarly, would have spoken Manx, with English being -- until their introduction to it at school, via the schoolmaster (who would be bilingual) and his books -- a foreign tongue.

By way of summary to this point, it may be said that education in the Isle of Man to the year 1660 was sufficient unto the need, which was not great because of the rusticity of the populace and of their level of subsistence. Schools existed, but not in every parish, and it is quite likely that Manx and English were used as regards instruction. Reading and writing would have been in English only (with the exception of schools after the fashion of Cannell's), since there was nothing printed in Manx from which a child could read, if given the opportunity. A Manx orthography had been developed by Phillips and Cannell, but there is no evidence of such orthography being used by the Manx in general. The reading and writing of English were not essential accomplishments for the common native; the Bible was translated extemporaneously for him by his local vicar and all communications necessary to him were conducted orally within the confines of a small society. Education at a petty school was the exception and not the rule, and was probably of short duration even for those whose parents were willing to provide the money for such an endeavour. All this was to change, however, with the coming of Bishop Isaac Barrow to Man immediately after the Restoration. Changes were to be effected which began the erosion of the Manx language by a sustained effort to replace it with English.

Walpole's observation of Man's poverty paving the way for a fresh revolution may not have been far from the truth, for the poverty of a written culture marked the Manx for conquest by agents of English and a dominant English culture.[25] Energetic and reform-minded clerics from the metropolis were ushered in with the Restoration, and it was they who set about changing the nature of things.

Bishop Barrow: A New Beginning

During the last four days of May, 1660, Charles II was proclaimed king in the Isle of Man, amid shouting, the shooting of muskets and ordnance, drinking and loud rejoicing. The Manx had spent nine years under the rule of English Parliamentarians, and, having obtained little or no benefit from the change to Commonwealth status in 1651, were ready at the first opportunity to resume their old allegiance, the Stanleys, who had served the Stuarts and High Church during the English Civil War.[26]

With the termination of the Commonwealth, the Stanley family resumed its position and power in Man. Charles, the eighth Earl of Derby, restored episcopacy and set about obliterating the traces of rebellion, including its leader, William Christian, or Illiam Dhone as the Manx knew him. As Charles himself stated:

> Rebellion being a most heinous sinne against God, calling for justice here on earth, without which that place where it is committed may well be said to be polluted and by a fitting sacrifice ought to be purified by the blood of the most heinously guilty.27

Bishop Isaac Barrow was subsequently brought to the island in 1663, to serve both as head of the Manx church and as governor (a combination which earned the holder of both offices the title of "sword-bishop"). For the next eight years, Barrow sought to bring radical changes to bear on Manx life in a deliberate policy of anglicization in language and learning, aided enthusiastically by Earl Charles.

The condition of the Manx horrified Barrow. The population of Man at this time cannot have been greater that 14,000 and the four towns might have numbered some 500 souls apiece,[28] but Barrow found much to his distaste in his diocese in the way of language, morals, manners and religion:

> I found at my coming, that the people were, for the most part, loose and vicious in their lives, rude and barbarous in their behaviour and which I suppose the cause of this disorder, without any true sense of religion and indeed in a condition almost incapable of being bettered; for they had no means of instruction or of being acquainted with the very principles of Christianity.29

He was even more shocked, however, at the condition of the Clergy:

> Their ministers, it is true, took it upon them to preach; but were themselves much fitter to be taught, being very ignorant and wholly illiterate, having had no education than what that rude place afforded them: Not many books among them, nor they intelligent of any but English books, which came very rarely thither.30

The Manx clergy, he discovered, were subsisting on five or six pounds per annum, and were supplementing their incomes by engaging in "all mechanical course, even in keeping ale-houses, to procure a living."[31] This, he thought, rendered them despicable to the people, who "had no way of instruction but from their mouths":

> for their is nothing either written or printed in their language which is peculiar to themselves; neither can they who speak it best write to one another in it, having no character or letter of it among them.32

Barrow was incorrect on this latter point, had he taken the trouble to acquaint himself with the work of Phillips and Cannell in Manx Gaelic But perhaps it was easier to overlook such endeavours and see only ignorance in order to justify a remedy, behind which were motives that were not entirely apparent.

His horror at what took place in the seventeen parish churches at the hands of the Manx clergy was further evidence of ignorance and illiteracy, since the clergy (for the greater part of Manx origin) conducted services by making extemporaneous translations of the English Liturgy into Manx :

> and so likewise of the holy scriptures: which, how inconvenient for the people, and injurious to the Scriptures it must needs be ... when done by such as do not perfectly understand the English, and much less the meaning of many Texts of Scripture.33

Barrow's indignation at the manner of church services, therefore, was premised upon the efforts of clergymen trying to present the work of God in the best way they knew how to congregations which were Anglican, spoke no English and were unable to read the Bible in their own language, simply because one did not exist. These efforts, he thought, were inadequate, and especially so with the younger clergy, who, he opined, presented great inaccuracies to their congregations. But when clerics were instructed to preach in English, the resentment of the Manx was a legitimate grievance, since an alien tongue rendered the service unintelligible -- and ecclesiastical records contain a number of references as to the feeling this ploy evoked.[34] In 1678, for example, William Gill, of Lezayre, refused to attend church while the vicar, Mr. Fox, read in English, a language which Gill did not understand.[35]

Clearly, there was a problem here. But instead of recognizing the need for providing the Manx with a translation of the Bible in their native tongue, Barrow rationalized that the ignorance which he saw was due to the lack of English. Therefore, the "cure" for the problem was quite obvious: English would have to be imposed upon the Manx. Ignorance would then be dispelled, the Manx could read the scriptures from the King James Bible, and the church services could be conducted entirely in English, thereby eliminating the need for faulty extemporaneous translations. That part of a culture was going to be crushed was of no concern to him; the condition of the Manx warranted direct intervention:

> This being their Condition, I suppose the best way of Cure would be, to acquaint the people with the English tongue, so that they might be in a capacity of reading Catechisms, and books of devotion: and for the purpose, to set up an English School in every parish; and withal, to fit the children for higher learning, in a Grammar School, which is also wanting.36

He therefore resolved to impose upon Manx children the English language "as a necessary sub-goal to spiritual salvation,"[37] in order to make them better understand their duties and obligations via the scriptures. English was to become the medium of instruction and the means to salvation.

Exactly how Barrow proposed to achieve this linguistic goal depended upon two factors: the availability of English-speaking schoolmasters and money, both of which he set about securing to his satisfaction. In this endeavour, he received the blessing of the

Earl of Derby, who, in 1672, issued the following proclamation concerning compulsory attendance at the English parochial schools which Barrow was constructing:

> All farmers and other tenants in my Isle of Mann of what degree or quality soever doe and shall send their eldest sonnes and all other of their children to such pettie schools as soon as they are capable, wherein if any do fail or be remiss ... (they) shall not onely be fined severely, but their children made incapable of bearing any office or place of trust ... for want of such literature and education.37

Bearing in mind that the lord regarded the whole of the island as his property, and the people as his tenants and subjects, this order of compulsion was applicable to every family. The intent was clear: attend the new schools or suffer exclusion from any position deemed an office or worthy of trust in the mind of the lord, and, face the possibility of being "fined severely" should compliance not be fulfilled. Families were left with little option but to comply with the order, although the degree of compliance is open to question.

Bishop Barrow, meanwhile, began his re-vamping of the clergy with the "cure" as the ultimate goal for salvation of the people. His injunction of 1667 forbade clerics from keeping ale houses, upon pain of suspension from office,[38] while he proceeded to have a number of vicars act as schoolmasters -- an act of faith, since he looked upon them with a jaundiced eye. However, there was no other viable alternative open to him, short of the importation of non-Manx speaking schoolmasters from England. Perhaps, in fairness to Barrow, he was also moved by such literature as Milton's Tractate of Education (1644), which advocated the setting up of a school in every parish; perhaps the example of Scotland's educational provisions or those of Ireland or New England gave him cause for thought. At any rate, education and religion formed a unity for him, and no distinction between the two existed.[39] Accordingly, the Manx clergy were to become the instruments of his educational policy, being given a few extra pounds each year by way of compensation for their duties in the schoolroom. Funding for this was achieved by Barrow's exercise of personal influence with King Charles II, who granted him £100 per annum, payable out of the excise. This fund was known as the Royal Bounty.

This Royal Bounty anticipated the state subsidization of education in England and Ireland by approximately a century and a half, coming as it did in 1675. It was paid specifically to six petty schools (Castletown, Douglas, Ramsey, Kirk Andreas, Kirk Bride and Ballaugh), with each school receiving £3 per annum, while the balance of the £100 was used to bring the poorer parish livings up to £17 each per annum (which was considered an adequate salary for a clergyman in Man).[40] This annual charity/subsidy was further supplemented by money from a second fund, the Impropriate Fund, which was raised in 1666. The sum of £1081 08 04 was raised by Barrow, with considerable help from his English friends, and was used to purchase the lord's revenue (which amounted to £100+ per annum) for Barrow and his successors on a lease of 10,000 years, for the sum of £1,000, with a "fine" of £130 payable to the lord for the use of the revenues, every thirtieth year. The annual revenue of £100 was distributed to the needy parishes, where the livings were inadequate for a number of clergymen:

> The revenues and ecclesiastical promotions and maintenance for the ministers of the gospel settled with the said Isle of Man are very small; by reason whereof, many of the ministers with the said Isle are forced to live in mean condition, far unbecoming their callings; and likewise are necessitated, for the gaining and obtaining of a livelyhood for themselves and their families, to betake themselves to mean and inferior employments ...41

Barrow was determined to make good his desire to "vindicate the clergy from contempible poverty and free them from the necessity of base employments."[42] The vicars of the parishes of German, Jurby, Lezayre, Maughold, Lonnan, Conchan, Braddan, Marown, Santan, Arbory and Rushen received Impropriate Fund money to bring their livings up to £17 per annum, with -- as yet -- no strings attached. The "teaching strings" would appear in 1685, when it became obligatory for all clerics to hold a school, the completion of the clergyman-schoolmaster scheme as envisaged by Barrow.

But Bishop Barrow did not stop there. As he observed when talking about the "cure," anglicization demanded a grammar school to round out the educational ladder which he proposed. Those students judged as being most able at the island's petty schools could, if chosen, proceed to a secondary stage of learning, upon the completion of which the students would be destined for service with the Manx Church or the lord's administration.[43] But a humble parish cleric was not deemed worthy enough or sufficiently literate to be installed as the master of such a prestigious institution, a position which demanded a higher salary than that of the £17 awarded the common clergy. Accordingly, Barrow created a further fund: the Academic Master's Fund, of circa 1668.

As with the Royal Bounty, two Englishmen were to be the trustees who would over-see the disbursements; they were William Banks, of Winstanley, in the county of Lancaster, and Thomas Chalmondeley, of Vale Royal, in the county of Chester. After the purchase of the Impropriate Tithes in 1666, the remaining sum of money (which had been added to) amounted to £241 8 4. This money was used to purchase property in and around County Meath, Ireland, and an annual revenue of £60 from the properties was used to:

> maintain and provide ... a person of sufficient learning and ability to execute and discharge the place, imployment, and duty of a publique reader of logick, philosophy, and history, within the Isle and Dominion of Man 44

This academic master, in contrast to masters of petty schools, was licensed by the trustees and not by the bishop, although, no doubt, their choice of master would have to be favourable to the latter (the Elizabethan, and Stuart measures of 1559, 1571, 1604 and the Clarendon Code, were all enforced by the Manx bishops, in that licenses for approved schoolmasters were issued by the episcopal incumbent, making Man an Anglican bastion until the advent of Methodism in the latter part of the eighteenth century).[45] A document of teaching authorization, signed by Thomas Chalmondeley and dated 1680, specifically states that Chalmondeley, being satisfied with the ability of one John Shaw, Clerke, Master of Arts, "licensed, impowered and authorized" him to "teach, read, informe and instruct, in the study of reading of logicke, philosophy and history," to anyone who was desirous or willing to be instructed or informed by him. Shaw was to receive "benefitts, fees, dues, duties, salleries, wages, stipends and other conveniences or payments" for his teaching duties, a most lucrative post to hold, compared with the stipend enjoyed by the clerics.[46]

Clearly then, Barrow established the first recognizable grammar school -- or "Academic School" -- on the island (not counting the Fairfax schools, which, by Barrow's time, were discounted by him as being such, since he found a grammar school "wanting"). He was also prepared to let its master be subject to lay authority in choice and certification, despite the tenor of the times. Accordingly, the Academic

School emerged as the Castletown Grammar School, Castletown being the chief centre of English influence on the island. The school became an "interim university" for the island's scholars, an alternative to institutions in England or Ireland for those destined for service in Man.[47]

But Bishop Barrow was not finished with his educational reorganization with the provision of a grammar school: he also decided that there should be an Academic Students' Fund, to enable two deserving students to proceed on to "university or colledge for the terme and space of five years." The students so favoured were then to return, "if required by the Bishop or trustees, to serve in their own country."[48] This fund, created in 1668, later became altered by the conditions of Barrow's will, of December 14, 1679. Three boys, not two, were to be maintained, and, by a resolution of August 24, 1686, the Castletown school was to be preferred instead of Dublin University, thereby ensuring that island scholars would not be tempted to remain away from Man, seeking a position in Ireland or England. They were to be captive scholars and were to provide a return for financial outlay by serving in Man alone.[48]

The financing of these scholars was effected by the buying of two farms, Hango Hill and Ballagilley, for the sum of £105, from the lord. The annual revenues from these properties -- some £20 -- was applied to the maintenance of the scholars. This fund was to form the basis for the foundation of King William's College, 1833, some £2,000 having accumulated in the hands of the trustees by that time.[49]

Thus, Bishop Barrow's grammar school (often referred to as the Castletown Free School or the Academic School) provided the completion of a new system of education in Man. Thomas Denton, writing in 1681-2, observed the school in operation when Shaw was the master:

> The School master hath £60 a year Sallery allowed by ye Earl of Darby for reading prayers every morning at 11 of ye clock teaching a Grammar School and for reading Logick and phylosophy to for Accademick Scollars, who are habitted in black wide-sleeved goons and square caps and have lodging in the Castle and a sallery of £10 a year a piece by a new foundation of ye present Earl and Lord of Man.50

It is interesting to note that Denton considered the salaries of the master and students as being "allowed" by the earl, signifying that the institution owed its continuance to the generosity of the lord, who presumably therefore, controlled its operation. At any rate, his observance of the scholars in their caps and gowns (ordered to be worn by a resolution of 1686) is of greater accuracy, since such attire was necessary to distinguish the youths as the recepients of privilege and station within the new order of English schooling.

Thus, by the time of Barrow's translation to St. Asaph's, Wales, 1671, an effective system of education had been constructed in Man. Every parish was graced with an English-language petty school, operated by either a member of the Manx clergy or a layman, licensed by the bishop. The express purpose of the schools was to promote the use of English in preference to Manx so that, ostensibly, the Bible could be read and understood by the natives. The scheme was funded by an English state subsidy, Manx, English and Irish real estate revenues and by the initial charity of Anglicans in England. It had the blessing of the Lord of Man, who introduced compulsory attendance at the new schools by Order in 1672, and it was carefully checked for any irregularity by the Manx ecclesiastical authorities. Irregularities did, however, occur, despite the co-operation of Church and state in the regulation of the system. Parish vicars, it would seem, were not as obedient as they should have been, and some refused to keep schools, as they were ordered. In 1674, the wardens of Kirk Arbory presented their vicar, Isab Quiggan, for "not keeping school in a long season." He was ordered to teach and to receive the appropriate salary until further notice; and in 1689, the Enquest presented the vicar of Kirk Malew "for not keeping a School at the parish Church," the vicar protesting that since he did not receive Barrow's augmentation money, he did not consider himself obliged to teach.[51] Clearly, some of the Manx clergy were hesitant to comply with their new duty, regarding it as an imposition upon them, alien to therin traditional role in Manx society. Perhaps also, there was some doubt as to the motives behind the "cure" since a universal introduction of English would threaten not only the Manx language, but the old authority of the bilingual vicar, who enjoyed a unique status as the keeper of the word.

Barrow's "Cure": The Next Step

Barrow's succesors were as little interested as he was in encouraging the use of the Manx language.[52] Indeed, the drive continued in extending the system of English schooling. Bishop Henry Bridgman (1671-82) was eager to found an academic school similar to the Castletown venture, and purchased Rushen Abbey for the purpose, an act which emptied his purse and aborted the project. Bishop Baptiste Levinz (1684-92), attempted to found a similar school in the north of the island, at Ramsey, in 1687. He wrote to Thomas Chalmondeley in the following terms:

> I bring you humble thanks from our poor Islanders for your extraordinary favour to them, they have only one more favour at present to begg and yt is yt ye sum of moneys in your hands (which I think is neer 200lb) may be put to use for they're benefitt, wich will bring in some 10lb a year and this may be set aside as a salary to provide a schoolmaster for Ramsey.[53]

Unfortunately, Levinz's appeal to Chalmondeley did not result in the foundation of a second grammar at that time, Ramsey having to wait until 1703/4 for such a school. Perhaps Chalmondeley thought that the Castletown school was sufficient for the island's needs in the 1680's.

The year 1685 saw the finalization of the Barrovian petty school system at the hands of Bishop Levinz. The Convocation of Clergy, at Castletown, in that year, agreed to the method of distribution of Impropriate Fund money, together with the Royal Bounty, to all seventeen parishes. Levinz made sure that each clergyman received a total of £17 from the two funds, then stipulated the following:

> the moneys still remaining should go to the maintaining sevll schools to teach write and read in such places in the Island as should be judged most conveneint: it being also provided and enjoyned ... that whatever Minister received any augmentacon

> should be obliged to teach school in his parish, under the penalty of forfeiting such his augmentacon.54

Thus, eleven parish clergymen who received their salaries from this time onwards, were obliged to teach a school, having to join their colleagues in Bride, Andreas, Ballaugh, Patrick and German who were already receiving "augmentacon money" specifically for "school-keeping." The three petty schools at Castletown, Douglas and Ramsey continued to receive their Royal Bounty funding, while the vicar of Malew received nothing in the way of augmentation, and accordingly (as previously mentioned) refused to teach.[55]

Clearly, then, it was expected that all clergymen were to act as parochial schoolmasters, the Malew case underlining this expectation. English was to be taught by these men without exception. Lay petty schoolmasters were part of this program, being licensed to teach in the towns or wherever else there was a need. Indeed, a licence issued in 1698 states that there was a "great necessity of an English Schooll being diligently kept in the town of Castletown," the schoolmaster, John Waterson, being granted £5 (from the Royal Bounty) and being empowered to demand sixpence from each child per quarter for the teaching or reading, learning and good manners, and ninepence per quarter for the teaching of the "Latine tongue," "Writeing and casting account."[56] Another school with lay teachers was the Cloth workers' School in Peel founded in 1689 by Bishop Levinz, who activated Philip Christian's endowment of 1653. We may assume that the teachers were certified and that the school's curriculum was geared to those of the other English petty schools, there being no stipulation in the foundation as to language, even though Christianwas Manx himself. The school prospered and later came to be known as "the cradle of education in the west."

Its master, incidentally, was provided with £18 per annum, a good salary when compared with clergymen and certainly with other petty schoolmasters.

By the end of Levinz's episcopacy, in 1692, Barrow's system could be said to be complete. As many Manx children as possible were being educated in the petty schools, where they were taught to speak, read and perhaps write English, although their time in these schools is open to conjecture, since there is no evidence as to age, duration of study or the hours of school operation from season to season. However, by the same convocation that he ordered his ministers to act as schoolmasters, (1685), Levinz reinforced the Earl Charles order of 1672 by decreeing that parents who did not send their children to school were to be presented at the ecclesiastical court, in order to be reprimanded, fined and reminded of their duty. Additionally, by a convocation order of 1683, all parents were obliged to send their children to church on Sunday afternoon to be catechized in "ye Lord's Prayer, the Beleefe, Tenn Commandments and the Cathechisme ... in such tongue as they are capable to learn the same." Those who neglected to do so were to be "proceeded against by imprisonmt or other punishmt as the law provides."[57] This latter order bears witness to the growing manifestation of Anglican Church discipline with regard to parents and children, a discipline which had matched the drive for anglicization since the Restoration. Interestingly, the wording of the order concerning language in these Sunday catechizing schools would seem to imply that English had not yet made the great inroads hoped for.

The power of the Church in Man during the period in question makes for a fascinating study in regimentation and intolerance. Discipline was administered most strictly and covered a number of activities.

There were punishments for adultery, slander, bad language, assault, drunkenness and non-attendance at church. Indeed, a money commutation for penance was abolished in 1691, a fine being imposed for the non-production of a certificate from the minister showing that penance had been performed. No work was to be done from Saturday night until Monday morning, by Levinz's proclamation of 1690, the penalty for transgression being "fourteen days' imprisonm't in St. German's prison, and penance in every church of the Island for the first offence, and for every relaps double punishment and £4 fine to the Lord's use without mittigacon."[58] Additionally, by the 1685 regulations, all persons who were absent from divine service for more than one Sunday "without lawfull cause," were fined sixpence, thereby up-dating the 1683 ordinance, which stated that the "inhabitants shall for the future repair to the parish churches ... in ye afternoon, as well as ye forenoon, and upon all Holy-dayes and other dayes of prayer ... under the penalty of forfeiting fourpence."[59]

The Church was indeed a power with which to be reckoned, educationally, morally and socially. Under Bishops Barrow and Levinz it forged a new meaning for the word "discipline." The Clarendon Code did not technically apply to the island, but there was little need for it anyway, since nonconformism was almost non-existent. Quakers had been imprisoned or driven from the island by injunctions against them in 1658, a situation which continued until 1685. Both Barrow and Levinz treated them severely, fining and imprisoning them, baptising their children forcibly into the Anglican Church, refusing Christian burial for their dead, and finally, banishing them from the island. Little wonder that Governor William Sacheverell, writing in 1696, stated:

> The Church in the Isle of Man is strictly conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; and although it is as far short of its learning as of its revenue, yet, without vanity, it may be said that in its uniformity, it outdoes any branch of the Reformed Churches.60

Catholicism likewise presented no problem. Levinz, writing of the state of the Church in Man in 1688, said: "God be thanked, I find the people in appearance nothing inclined to popery, tho' we retayne several popish customs heer in this remote place."[61] Similarly, Comptroller Rowe, writing at this time, observed that in Man,

> having no disturbance from abroad, we are assured of peace at home, not being (God be thancked) infested with Rome's incendiarys: I can truly tell you that we are of one minde, unanimous, and of one true Protestant religion, in this quiet little nation.62

Religious homogeneity, as observed by Sacheverell and Rowe, was assured by Church measures which permitted no religious opposition. What with compulsory church attendance for all families, compulsory catechization for all children on Sunday afternoons and compulsory attendance at Church-backed schools during the week, there was little chance of deviation ever raising its head in the closed community that was Man in the seventeenth century. The control and education of Manx children were entirely within the hands of the Church, a control which encompassed home and school, week days and Sundays, holidays and feast days. The reformed Church fought hard to keep its grip upon the populace, and utilized the petty schools to keep religion to the fore of learning. Indeed, Manx horn books from this era display the religiosity inherent with the teaching of reading, (as they did in England) exhibiting a cross, an Invocation of the Holy Trinity and the Lord's Prayer, in addition to the regular alphabet with some simple syllables.[63] Add to this the peculiar feature of Manx law that ecclesiastical statutes could become Acts of Tynwald, and thus the law of the land, and one can see that the

Church was feared in its machinations. Even officers of the temporal authority felt its sting, as evidenced by the two Castle Rushen officers who were presented for "laughing at ye pcession on the Castle Walles as minister and people went by." They were surrendered by the garrison authorities for censure and sentencing at the ecclesiastical court, submitting meekly to the punishment meted out.[64]

Perhaps the fact that Manx Church law had been codified in the 1620's, during Phillip's episcopacy, gave it the edge in authority over the old breast law, which, until 1690, was memorized in entirety. Certainly, there were no lawyers in Man (until 1690) to whom an ordinary man could go for advice and representation. Perhaps also the acquiescence of the civil authority in Church wishes, during a reactionary era against the excesses of Manx nationalist feeling, gave the bishops the incentive to promote Church authority, knowing full well that they would be looked upon with favour by those with vested interests in seeing the population disciplined and indoctrinated as to duties, obligations and behaviour. And the English petty schools cannot be ignored as being a leading aspect of this move to discipline, this "cure" for the ailments of "rude, vicious, barbarous and loose" people.

The supremacy of the Manx Church continued to be a feature of Manx life for a considerable period of time, and education, duly provided for by funds channelled through the Church, and backed by injunctions from lord and bishop, fell within its grasp in no uncertain manner. But cracks were appearing in this authority, and economic matters provided the hammer which widened the fissures, and it is to the question of tithes which we must now turn, in order to understand better the semi-feudal nature of Manx society in this era.

Tithes were to plague Church-state relationships until 1839, when Church tithes were finally commuted. The demands of the Church and the lord became burdensome to a population noted for its poverty and which was in a state of semi-feudalism as regards obligations. Underlying the problem was the nature of the land tenure system, which had evolved from the Scandinavian Odal or Udal system, where land was held in hereditary right and not from a king or lord. With the coming of the Stanley regime (1405) land was allowed to remain in the possession of the holders upon the swearing of fealty to the lord -- the thin edge of the feudal wedge. Holders who were not able to do so had their lands confiscated. All land holders were regarded as tenants, despite traditions to the contrary. But holders were permitted to sell their land, showing transference of "ownership" by handing over a straw, grown on the land, to the new "owner," in the presence of the lord or his steward.[65] Land holders paid the lord an annual rent and an alienation fine upon any change of ownership. This system of land holding was confirmed by James I in 1607 and was, to all intents and purposes, feudal in design. The Stanleys regarded Man as a feudal manor, and being for the most part, absentee landlords, entrusted the administration of their "manor" to governors.

However, this arrangement was not feudal enough for James, the seventh earl (1627-51), who placed all lands on a twenty-one year lease.[66] Since succession rights were jeopardized, and most of the inhabitants lived by farming, widespread insecurity and discontent ensued. Additionally, the lord's "customs" rights were rigorously demanded from all tenants;

these included fence and road making, "yarding," the conscripting of tenants' eldest sons for work on farms in customs arrears and the limitation of travel from the island.[67] Grievances arising from these impositions caused the Manx to throw in their lot with the parliamentarians in the Manx rebellion of 1651, making the Stanleys suspicious of Manx allegiance.

During the lordship of the ninth earl, William (1672-1702), the economy of the island suffered because of the continuance of this policy. Farms became empty through a combination of uncertainty, confiscation, high rents and bad harvests. Fishing, an alternative occupation, provided little comfort because of bad seasons, and the extraction industry was hardly big enough to accommodate the needed employment. Emigration -- to England, Ireland and America -- was the result, the first serious movement of Manx from the island. The irksome tithes of Church and state were increased during the episcopacy of Levinz, payment in kind being fobidden, land holders being ordered to pay in cash.[68] All previous prescriptions against tithes were declared null and void; cash was demanded even by the Church. The vicar of Malew, Thomas Parr, apart from refusing to keep a school, complained in 1685 that Levinz "hath the Rectorie of this psh upon a ract rent and is a looser thereby," and that "many of the pshoners refuse to pay there tythes, pretending prescript."[69] Recusants appeared at the Consistory court and were ordered to pay at their church altars, upon pain of forfeiting their land. Church assessments were avoided if possible, to the extent that there was a "great indecency and disorder in all or most of the parish churches" for want of "sufficient and commendable seats," in 1683.[70] Churches in poor repair, parish registers neglected and clerical absenteeism did not help the situation, and an Act of Tynwald, in 1697, sought to rectify the latter situation.[71] Clearly, tithes were a source of unhappiness for people and clerics.

But with all these obligations, the Manx, caught in the trap of impoverishment and cut off from the mainstream of English socio-political influences, could do little but suffer in their insularity. Indeed, the Glorious Revolution went almost unnoticed in Man, Governor Heywood (1678-90) stating that the Isle of Man, being "no more part of the Kingdom of England than Normandy or Gascony," had nothing to do with it, and Bishop Levinz calling William of Orange's landing a "horrid invasion."[72] The Manx brand of Anglican discipline, practised in collusion with the state, bought unnecessary hardships; and it was perhaps with some foresight that Barrow did not completely tie his education system to the Manx economy; had he done so, his "cure" would have foundered upon diminishing revenues. Thomas Parr's observations were applicable not only to Bishop Levinz, but also to the Earls of Derby, and both spiritual and temporal lords were the "loosers thereby." But the English school system was buoyed up by subsidies from the Crown and from Anglo-Irish property, so that, in the event of failure in agriculture in Man, or minimal returns from excise duties, the system was assured of continuance.

At this juncture, an examination of wages, prices and trading practises is advisable, in order to better see the staple foundations of Manx society during what is acknowledged to be a depressed time for the Manx economy. The forces of finance are closely linked with what was happening educationally and politically, and cannot be omitted from investigation.

Economic Considerations: 1660-1700

One of the chief objects of legislative activity after the Restoration was the regulation of wages and work. A statute of Tynwald in 1667 fixed wages at a slightly higher rate than those of 1609, with the result that a ploughman received 15s. per annum, a maid servant 9s. and a household fisherman 13s. Day labourers received 2d. and joiners and masons 6d. per day. A regulation of 1679 enacted that mowers should receive 4d. (with sufficient meat and drink) or 12d. (without meat and drink).[73] Day labourers, hedgers, reapers and haymakers all received 2d. with meat and drink or 4d. without,[74] with labourers being boarded. Hours of labour were also fixed by Tynwald at 6 am to 6 pm March 25 to September 29, with the rest of the year being from sunrise to sunset. Manx labourers were, until about 1710, little more than serfs, their services and wages regulated by Tynwald's gentry, who were anxious to restrain the peasants' liberty for their own benefit. Interestingly, immigrant artisans from England and Ireland were not subject to wage regulation, their wages being negotiated by the governor or lord's council. This inducement highlights the shortage of such people in Man at this time, there being a marked shortage of skilled workers in all trades.[75]

Thus, wages for natives were kept down and an adequate labour supply ensured by the simple expedient of enforcing old laws against anyone leaving the island without the governor's licence and a certificate from the parish minister, the captain of the parish and a jury of servants who were required to testify that there was no need for the applicant's labour in the parish.[76] It did not prevent emigration, especially of young people, however. Indeed, one may say that the imposition of English at the petty schools gave them an added incentive to leave the harsh conditions in Man: they understood English and could therefore function in an English-speaking society beyond Man's shores. To what extent Barrow's "cure" prompted youthful emigration is open to question, but there is no doubt that the acquisition of English speeded up the resolve of many to emigrate. The emigration of youth from Man has given the legislature much cause for concern from that time onwards, and some two hundred years later, Mr. W. Goldsmith, MHK, stated:

> Our young people have to seek their fortunes abroad very largely, and they will have to do so to a larger extent probably in the future. Our fishing industry and our mining industry have failed to such an extent that opportunities of employment are very much circumscribed. The result will be that more of our young people will have to leave the Island to make their way in other countries.[77]

Stringent regulations covering apprentices were also enforced, to the chagrin of youths, who saw apprenticeship as little more than bondage for five years -- with a £10 payment to the lord for the privilege.[78]

Regulations were driving the young from the island, despite efforts to retain them. This course might have proved disastrous for Man, had not the labour laws been relaxed in the first decade of the eighteenth century when the flight of youth was temporarily halted.

As regards food prices during this era, wheat was 18s. a quarter, a goose 4d., a hen 2d., eggs were 1d. per dozen, butter was ½d. per pound, mutton 1s 6d. a side and beef 6s. a quarter. A meal, with wine and two quarts of beer, in 1681, cost 8d. -- two day's wages for a labourer. There was little change in these prices until the turn of the century, when prices climbed, the result, claimed Bishop Wilson, of the resort of strangers.[79] He was not incorrect; in actual fact, the smuggling trade was beginning to have its effect upon the island -- socially, morally and economically. It was this activity which was to prove decisive in Man's relationship with England; education was to be affected as a consequence.

Man was eventually incorporated as an adjunct country, in order to neutralize the activity. (see chapter 3)

During the Stanley regime, trade was regulated in a somewhat primitive manner, though it was suited to Manx needs. No goods could be imported or exported without the lord's consent, with customs duties being levied in both directions (duties on exports were suspended in 1737). William Blundell noted that the master of an incoming ship had to attend in person, before the governor, to tell both the nature of his cargo and the latest news. Four merchants, chosen by Tynwald "to deal truly and for ye country's profit," were sent for. They then proceeded to bargain with the master on behalf of the lord and people.[80] In this subsistence economy, customs revenues were accordingly small. Between 1660 and 1700, £78 per annum was the average receipt. This tripled to £248 in 1713, leaped to £2,076 in 1720 and then soared to some £6,422 during the 1754-63 period (see Appendix C). Smuggling produced the astounding changes after 1700, although the trade had started during the last two decades of the seventeenth century. At the time of Bishop Barrow's translation from the Isle of Man, in 1671, the practice of "farming" the English Customs ended. Until this time, the crown had had little interest in customs, imports and exports being put out to "farm" to persons or syndicates in return for a firm rent. When once the rent was determined and the farm let, the crown ignored smuggling, since smugglers were not "stealing the King's Customs," but the farmer's. The farmers had no means to effect a preventive service, but the crown did, and when, in 1671, Customs Commissioners were appointed, a new situation occurred:

> It was the crown now that was most vitally interested in any avoidence of duties, and it was the crown therefore that set itself to organize a more effective preventive service.81

After the passing of the Navigation Act of 1672, it was apparent that it would be necessary to "send some officers to the Isle of Man to prevent abuses in the Plantation Trade."[82] By 1691, Man had two such agents surveying the four major ports, each being paid £40 per annum and under the aegis of the Liverpool establishment. These agents were treated with contempt by the Manx and were looked upon as little more than spies and informants -- which is what they were -- since they did their best to alert Imperial authorities of ships issuing from Manx ports bound for English shores, loaded with "contraband."

Trade with neighbouring countries was restricted by the Navigation Acts, initially by those of 1651 and 1661, which sought to exclude the Dutch and promote English mercantilism. Unfortunately, as shown above, the Manx were excluded as well, and, in the face of a depressed economy, they resorted to smuggling. With the 1689 duty on French wine and brandy being imposed by the English, the Manx became bolder as the profits accrued. Wines, spirits, tea, tobacco, salt, East India and China goods were all bought abroad, landed in Man for payment of a small duty, then re-exported to Ireland, Scotland and England in secret, thereby defrauding the British customs.[83] The money supply was increased in Man, English entrepreneurs moved in to exploit the situation and the Manx laws against aliens were relaxed (1697) in recognition of the trade which the foreigners brought with them.

But the influx of foreigners, from artisans to entrepreneurs, began to change Manx society. Social problems grew, to the extent that drunkenness increased markedly, thanks to the easy availability of wine, rum and brandy. Ale houses proliferated, there being 300 by 1740, for a population of only 16,000.[84] A public workhouse was erected in 1692 for "all lazie persons, vagabonds, and all public beggars, all fornicators, drunkards, etc."[85] The "new" industry, while it brought increasing contact with the outside world, an increasing supply of money and goods, and welcome relief from poverty, also brought with it unforseen and unbidden side-effects.

By 1700, Man presented a picture of a society and culture with a strange amalgam of ancient and modern. It possessed no proper roads or or vehicles and had few bridges. By comparison with other areas, it had little industry, a captive populace saddled with numerous obligations to Church and state, a depressed economy in agriculture and fishing and a new, illegal trade which compensated and lured many Manxmen beyond Man. A re-organized Church, headed by English bishops, abetted by an English administration, intended to turn the island's Gaelic-speaking children into English-speaking abecedarians, with numerous motives behind the scheme. Given the tenor of the times, this Manx educational move was not out of step with what was happening around the Irish Sea, in the neighbouring Anglo-Gaelic world, where affirmative steps towards legislating literacy in the English language (with religion, confirmation of duty and station, and politico-economic motives being well to the fore) were being enacted. Scotland had experienced a series of education acts, the most noteworthy being those of 1633, 1641, 1646 and 1696. Each had made successive provision for schools and schoolmasters in elementary and technical education, at the behest of the Presbyterian Church. Each parish was provided with a school, the master being under the strict control of the Church, as were the masters of the burgh grammar schools. The 1696 Act in particular capped a national system which lasted until 1872, funding being provided by a stent (tax) upon parishioners.[86] Ireland presented some similarity to Man, subject as it was to English administration and the imposition of English via schooling. The Acts of 1537 and 1570 saw free schools established in every diocese, where the

Gaelic children could be taught English and Anglicanism. Restoration conformity regulations were applicable, with the Anglican Church being the controlling body, enforcing the regulations of 1665 most rigorously. The Williamite Penal Laws of 1691 set the seal on the English domination in virtually every sphere of life during the ensuing decades. Here indeed was a culture under the hammer of Church and state.[87]

Wales had witnessed legislation in 1649 which had promoted the idea of "circulating" schools, but these did not appear until 1730, when Griffith Jones, an Anglican clergyman, brought the idea to fruition. The SPCK funded the project, which saw some 37 schools in operation in 1737, 100 in 1740, and 3,000 in 1761, teaching some 150,000 children in total. It was a project of great merit, unique in the British Isles. But outside the British Isles, in New England, a flurry of educational ordinances, from 1647 to 1692, had been aimed at promoting literacy with a view to reading the Bible and ensuring a docile citizenry, with compulsory attendance becoming the rule.[88] It can therefore be demonstrated that what the Barrow-Levinz era had seen enacted in Man had varying degrees of parallel elsewhere, where English was in the ascendancy, literacy for the purpose of reading the Bible was desired, the Church was in control of the provision of schools, schoolmasters and curriculum, and Anglicanism or Presbyterianism saw Catholicism and extremist Protestant groups as threats. The stage was now set for the next scene in Manx educational history, in which the principal actor, Bishop Thomas Wilson, was to effect changes in Manx life which eventually brought him into conflict with the state. It was to be a period which cast Man's fate to the winds, winds which were blowing her ever closer to the coast of England, whether she wanted it or not.

REFERENCES

[1] **Spencer Walpole,** The Land of Home Rule (London: Longman's Green and Company, 1893), p. 152.

[2] **Ibid.** Walpole inferred anglicization as the fresh revolution.

[3] **C.W. Airne,** The Story of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (Douglas: Norris Modern Press, 1964), vol. 2, p. 97.

[4] **Ibid.**

[5] **William Blundell,** A History of the Isle of Man (MS. 1648-56) (Douglas: Manx Society: 1876), p. 57.

[6] **Ibid.,** p. 83.

[7] **Ibid.**

[8] **Ibid.,** p. 167.

[9] **Ibid.**

[10] **Ibid.**

[11] **James Chaloner,** A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man, Digested into Six Chapters (originally published 1656; reprint ed., Douglas: Manx Society, 1864), p. 10.

[12] **Ibid.**

[13] **Ibid.,** p. 18. English was necessary for the Manx clergy, since the scriptures were in English.

[14] **Ibid.,** p. 57.

[15] **D. Kermode Parr,** "The History of Manx Education," (M. Ed. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1929) M.M. MS D 426 2069 B, p. 20. See also: The Isle of Man Charities (Liverpool: D. Marples, 1831), p. 21. Also: Joseph Train, An Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (Douglas: Mary A. Quiggin, (1845), Vol. 1, p. 208.

[16] These schools would have been staffed by lay schoolmasters.

[17] **Lawrence Stone,** "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640," Past and Present 28 (July 1964): 41-80.

[18] **John Lawson and Harold Silver,** A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1973), p. 161.

[19] **William Cubbon,** "Early Schools and Scholarship in Man," IOMNHAS 3 (#1, May 1925 - April 1926); Kermode Parr, "History of Manx Education," and "Pages in the History of Manx Education," Isle of Man Examiner, May 24, 1929; N.V. Crampton, "Schools in Man," IOMNHAS 5 (#2, April 1946 - March 1950); E.W. Corlett, "The Development of Education in the Isle of Man," (M.Ed. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1931) M.M. MS 1531 c.

[20] **Cubbon,** "Early Schools," p. 117. The licensing of schoolmasters was first started in England with Queen Mary's injunctions of 1554 and Cardinal Pole's Constitutions of 1555, during the Catholic restoration. All schoolmasters were subject to scrutiny by the bishop, a licence being provided to authorize teaching. The Elizabethan injunction of 1559 was incorporated into canon law in 1571, Anglicanism being the required religion of the schoolmaster. By 1604, both public and private candidates for the licence had to subscribe to the royal supremacy, the thirty-nine articles and the Book of Common Prayer. Parliament reinforced these requirements in 1581 and 1604, with statutes imposing heavy penalties for unlicensed teaching. (Lawson and Silver, Social History, p. 100)

[21] **Kermode Parr,** "Pages."

[22] **Crampton,** "Schools in Man," p. 487.

[23] **Mr. Latham and Sir Owen Roberts,** Christian's School Foundation at Peel, Isle of Man (London: Clothworkers' Company, 1896), pp. 1-2.

[24] **Ibid.,** p. 3. Funding for the school, known as Christian's School" or the "Peel Clothworkers' School," was provided for by two houses in Paternoster Square, London. Philip Christian was a native of Peel. See also: "Education in Peel," Manx Star, May 9, 1928.

[25] **Walpole,** Land of Home Rule, p. 152.

[26] **Ibid.,** p. 153. Christian returned to Man from England in 1661 and was tried the following year for crimes against the lord. The jury consisted of Manxmen unable to understand the English used in the courtroom and Christian paid the price for this ignorance: he was found guilty and executed at Hango Hill by firing squad, January 2, 1663, the Act of Indemnity not being applicable to Man, since it was not a dominion or territory of England. A martyr was created for the cause of Manx nationalism, and Illiam Dhone's memory was perpetuated by the Manx in song from that time onwards.

[27] **Ibid.,** p. 154. Charles saw himself much in the same fashion as his father, of whom the Dublin Review said:

> "He was almost a typical specimen of the great Cavalier nobleman, of the shape which, at that period, the idea of the true knight had assumed, and joined with it that of the feudal lord, of which practically he was the only remaining example in England." ("The Isle of Man," Dublin Review 78 (1876): 140)

The avenging of rebellion in the family feudal manor was undertaken with a natural righteousness befitting such a lord.

[28] The earliest population figures are for the year 1726, with the population numbering 14,066. However, Thomas Denton, writing in 1681-2, noted that there were "18 Parishes + 17 Parish Churches each of which Parishes comprehends at least an 100 families - many more." ("A Description of the Isle of Man," M.M. MS 1438 c) This would give a conservative population estimate of some 7,000 persons (17x100x4), which is half that of 1726. The largest parish in 1726 was Lezayre, with 1,309 -- all the rest being less than 1,000. The population of the four towns at this time was as follows: Castletown: 785, Douglas: 810, Peel: 475, Ramsey: 460. Thus, the average town size was approximately 632, compared with the average parish size of 678. (1726 figures from: Rev. Joseph George Cumming, The Isle of Man: Its History, Physical, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Legendary (London: John Van Voorst, 1848), p. 283) See also Appendix A.

[29] **Rev. Weedon Butler**, Mark Hildesley: Memoirs (London: J. Nichols, 1799), p. 304.

[30] **Ibid**

[31] **Ibid.** The Biographical Dictionary of 1812, in discussing Barrow, states the following:

> "The state of the diocese of Mann at this time was deplorable as to religion. The clergy were poor, illiterate and careless, the people grossly ignorant and dissolute. Bishop Barrow however, introduced a very happy change in all respects, by the establishment of schools, and improving the living of the clergy." Biographical Dictionary vol. 4 (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1812), p. 37.

[32] **Butler**, Hildesley, p. 304.

[33] **Ibid.**, p. 305.

[34] **David Craine**, "The Bible in Manx," IOMNHAS 5 (#5, April 1954 - March 1956: 1957): 541.

[35] **Ibid.**

[36] **Butler**, Hildesley, p. 305.

[37] **A.W. Moore**, A History of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900; reprint ed., Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust, 1977), vol. 1, p. 472.

[38] "Haveing had informacon that sevrall Clergie men in this island doe ... disgrace theire Callinge and pstitute yer houses (wch should be as schooles of Discipline to the rest of theire pishes) to Irregular and disorderly meetinges by vendinge ayle and beere and keeping victuallinge Houses. These are to require all Ministers within the Isle aforesaid to forbeare this unhansome and undecent Course so inconsistante with the Dignity of yer pfession .... And yf any shall herafter be found

guilty of this sordid indecencie, he shall for the first tyme be suspended from his office and benefice. And for the second made incapable of any spirituall preferment in this island." (A.W. Moore, Diocesan Histories: Sodor and Man (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1893), p. 157)

[39] **E.C. Owen,** A Hundred Years of Education: King William's College, Isle of Man 1830-1930 (Douglas, Brown and Sons, 1930), p. 28.

[40] Isle of Man Charities, P. 7. The other clergymen were to receive amounts ranging from £1 to £13, according to the poverty of the parish. This Royal Bounty was to be paid in perpetuity, to compensate for the "mean provision of the Clergy in that Isle, and the ill effects which necessarily attend upon the same, both in relation to the qualifications of the Ministry there, and instructing that people, and education of their youth ...." (ibid, p. 6)

[41] **Ibid.,** p. 8.

[42] **Butler,** Hildesley, p. 305.

[43] As Hildesley noted, regarding the effects of a grammar school education within the island's clergy:

> "So there may grow up a clergy of such knowledge and learning among them as may desire esteem, and carry an authority amongst the people: as the people may more cheerfully and confidentially accept for their spiritual guides, and more readily listen to their doctrine, and submit to their directions." (Butler, Hildesley, pp. 309-310)

[44] Isle of Man Charities, p. 26.

[45] By the Act of Uniformity, 1662, all schoolmasters were to have a bishop's licence in order to teach. The penalty for non-compliance was imprisonment or fine. This measure, by the Cavalier Parliament, marked the division of society into sectarian camps of Anglican and nonconformist, and was to promote jealousy and antagonism in education until this century.

[46] Isle of Man Charities, pp. 25-26.

[47] Bishop Barrow's draft deed for the Academic School, dated May 23, 1676, was an indenture between Charles II, James, Duke of Ormond, Thomas Chalmondeley and William Bankes (see: M.M. MS 841 A). The idea of a university in the Isle of Man was actually mooted by the seventh earl, James, prior to his death at the hands of Cromwell. In a letter to his son Charles, he said: "I had a design, and God may enable me, to set up a university, without much charge (as I have contrived it); which may much oblige the nations round about us. It may get friends into the country and enrich this land." (Moore, Sodor and Man, pp. 145-6)

[48] Isle of Man Charities, p. 33. Two "schoolers," Henry Halsall and Jon Woods, both of Castletown, were required to "enter into Bonds before their admission to serve in the Island after they are so fitted and qualified ...." (idem, p. 35). The trustees obviously wanted to ensure that such chosen students would repay their debt to the island in service, an investment of some £50 per youth being deemed worthy of a bond (£10x5 years).

[49] **Rev. E.C. Paton,** Ramsey Church Magazine, July 1896, p. 75.

[50] **Denton,** "Description of the Isle of Man," pp. 8-9. The first master of the school, Henry Lowcay (1671-80) was also chaplain at Castle Rushen and Rector of Ballaugh (1687-1703). John Shaw was the second master (1680-86), while Gilbert Holt was the third. (Isle of Man Charities, p. 35; and Cubbon, "Early Schools," pp. 118-9. See also: Pilcher G. Ralfe, "Some Notes on Old Castletown," IOMHAS 3 (#1, May 1925 - April 1926: 1927): 212).

[51] **Airne,** Story of the Isle of Man, p. 100; and BH 3298 c. Enquests were presented from 1645 to 1707.

[52] **Craine,** "Bible in Manx," p. 542.

[53] **L.E. Williamson,** Ramsey Grammar School: A Short History (Ramsey: 1972), p. 3.

[54] Isle of Man Charities, p. 18.

[55] The distribution of money was as follows:

Kk	Christ Rushen	9 0 0
Kk	Arbory	3 0 0
Kk	Michael	3 0 0
Kk	Jurby	11 0 0
Kk	Malew	0 0 0
Kk	Santon	8 0 0
Kk	Marown	8 0 0
Kk	Braddan	12 0 0
Kk	Conchan	9 0 0
Kk	Lonan	5 0 0
Kk	Maughold	1 0 0
Kk	Christ Lezayre	11 0 0
Kk	Bride for school keeping	3 0 3
Kk	Andreas for school keeping	3 0 0
Kk	Ballaugh for school keeping	3 0 0
Kk	Patrick and Kk German, as now consolidated for two schools	6 0 0
	Castletown Petty School	5 0 0
	Douglas Petty School	3 0 0
	Ramsey Petty School	3 0 0

(Isle of Man Charities, p. 18)

[56] **Cubbon,** "Early Schools," p. 122; and Kermode Parr, "Pages." See Appendix B for the licence in full.

[57] **Moore,** Sodor and Man p. 169.

[58] **Moore,** History, p. 473.

[59] **Moore,** Sodor and Man, pp. 170-1.

[60] **William Sacheverell,** An Account of the Isle of Man (1702) (edited, with an introduction by Rev. J.G. Cumming; reprint ed., Douglas: Manx Society, 1859), p. 94. Interestingly, Sacheverell's observations concerning the language are revealing. He states:

> "The common sort speak the native language, the gentry better English than in the north of England." (ibid., p. 55) and: "In the northern part of the Island, they speak a deeper Manks, as they call it, than in the south, which is nearer to the original Highlands, as being less corrupted with English. Their original words are few and adapted to mere necessity,but expressive and prettily softened by their abbreviations." (ibid., p. 15)

Gentry and common people were clearly divided upon linguistic lines at this time (1700), with the north being more Gaelic than the south, the area of greatest English influence.

[61] **Moore,** History, p. 476.

[62] **P.W. Caine,** "Pages From 17th Century Manx History," IOMNHAS 5 (#1, April 1942 - March 1946): 160.

[63] **Earnest B. Savage,** "Horn Books," Manx Church Magazine, March 1895, p. 34.

[64] **Moore,** Sodor and Man, p. 172; and History, p. 474.

[65] This was known as "straw tenure." See: R.D. Farrant, Mann: Its Land Tenure, Constitution, Lord's Rent and Deemsters (London: Humphrey Milford, 1937).

[66] A twenty-one year lease was known as a "three lives" lease. Rents could be altered any time and the right of succession to the land, father to son, was jeopardized, since there was no guarantee of family customary rights.

[67] "Yarding" was the conscripting of a man for the lord's service, for which a nominal wage was allowed, regardless of the man's obligations elsewhere. The lord also demanded that "Watch and Ward" be kept on the island continuously; this was a form of military guard duty performed year-round, in order that the coasts could be watched.

[68] Until this time, there had been no official coinage in Man, most of the coins being of Irish origin. In 1668, however, copper and brass coins were minted by John Murrey, a farmer and merchant of Ronaldsway, near Castletown. These bore his own name and were called "John Murrey pence." They were made legal tender by Tynwald, 1679, joining English, Scottish and Irish specie. Murrey's coins were withdrawn, 1709, when the lord minted his own.

[69] **Moore,** Sodor and Man, p. 175. The most serious case of non-compliance was of a land holder (J.B.) refusing to pay the corn tithe. He assaulted a vicar general, who had come to demand the tithe, pulling him from his horse, and punching, kicking and beating him. He was accordingly excommunicated, then ordered to "do penance at the crosses of the 4 market towns, and at the church-style of KK Malew, and to repeat a schedule." (idem, pp. 175-6). Train states:

> "The exactions made by the clergy from the scanty gains of the people were always oppressive, as were, in most instances, "the suits and services" required for the support of the civil and military governments of the island ...." (Joseph Train, An Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man 2 vols. (Douglas: Mary A. Quiggin, 1845), vol. I, p. 219.

[70] **Moore,** Sodor and Man, p. 178.

[71] This Act of 1697 warned all clergymen who held a living of more than £10 per annum to reside in the island, or suffer the confiscation of salary: "If any of them shall at any time ... be non-resident ... above the space of four months," they should be "forfeitt and loose the full value of one half year's profitt of their livings, &c." A second offence warranted a full year's salary being forfeit. (Statutes of the Isle of Man 17 vols. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883; Douglas: Brown and Sons, 1886-1961), vol. I, pp. 152-4)

[72] **Caine,** "Pages," p. 150; and Moore, Sodor and Man, p. 184.

[73] Statutes, pp. 132-7. Deviation from statutory wages was a criminal offence. Labourers were generally boarded by the farmer, while mowers were not.

[74] **Ibid.,** pp. 148-9.

[75] "For the encouragement of such artificers, handycraftmen and labourers, as do come here out of England, Ireland and other places from beyond the sea to reside and work in this Isle, (they) shall ... have and receive for their work and wages by the day, so much as the Governor and the Lord's Councell shall think fitt to sett down and allow." (ibid., p. 50)

[76] A 1713 Act of Tynwald admitted, however, that the enforcement of travel restrictions was becoming increasingly difficult, since servants (male and female) at the age of sixteen or seventeen, procured a licence and quit the country. Tynwald complained:

> "Whereby this Island is no better than a nursery for other places, and the usefull servants going off, and but a few left besides such depraved, useless or inactive people who are rather a burthen than any real service to the Island." (ibid., p. 191)

[77] Debates in the Manx Legislature, vol. 22 (Douglas: Brown and Company, 1905), House of Keys, May 23, 1905, p. 892.

[78] Statutes, vol, I, p. 132.

[79] **Moore,** History, pp. 399-400.

[80] **Blundell,** History,pp. 78-79.

[81] **Rupert C. Jarvis,** "Illicit Trade with the Isle of Man, 1671-1765, Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society 58 (1947): 246.

[82] **Ibid.**, p. 249.

[83] In a letter to a British Customs official, Edward Tildesley, in 1682, stated that the island "was become a magazine of all sorts of foreign goods ... as might be clandestinely transported into any of three kingdoms." (Moore, History, p. 429) Cargoes were openly off-loaded in Manx ports, to the benefit of the lord's dues. Lord Derby denied the existence of smuggling to the English Customs, then instructed his own officers, in 1694 and 1700, to build bigger warehouses and collect his duties more diligently. He also alerted his governor, Nicholas Stanley, to the growing flight of youth from the island with the following injunction:

> "You are to take care that noe person or persons transport any men or women servants or any young persons, and that noe such persons transport themselves, nor that any person take out any servants ... without Lysence upon the penalties and forfeitures in the Statute Book." (ibid., p. 431)

[84] This amounted to one public house for every fifty-three people. Waldron, in 1744, noted:

> "The only diversion of the better sort of people is drinking, which indeed they have and excellent opportunity to indulge; the best wines and rum and brandy, being excessively cheap, by reason of their paying no custom for it, and a man may drink himself dead without much expense to his family."

(George Waldron, A Description of the Isle of Man (London: 1744; reprint ed., Douglas: Manx Society, 1864, with an introduction and notes by William Harrison, MHK), pp. 50-51.

[85] **Moore,** History, p. 408.

[86] See: **J.E.G De Montmorency,** State Intervention in English Education (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), pp. 118-124; and M. Mackintosh, Education in Scotland Yesterday and Today (Glasgow: Robert Gibson and Sons Ltd., 1962), pp. 26-31.

[87] See: **De Montmorency,** State Intervention,pp. 124-128; and P.J. Dowling, A History of Irish Education (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1971).

[88] Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), p. 300. The General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony declared, in 1647:

> "It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall henceforth appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to read and write ...." (ibid.)

CHAPTER III

FROM CONFLICT TO CONQUEST: THE WILSONIAN YEARS

Discipline, Charity, Smuggling and Revestment: Schooling Responds to Change: 1700 - 1765

Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1698 - 1755, presents history with an interesting case-study in religious fervour and genuine pietism. He was both harsh and gentle with the Manx, much after the fashion of a strict father in a large household; he is spoken of with reverence even today, his darker side forgiven because of his efforts at alleviating the general condition of the people. Indeed, it has been said that for the fifty-seven years of his episcopacy, his was the island's history.[1] Be that as it may, it cannot be denied that his episcopacy was a highly important period politically, economically, religiously and educationally -- the latter being linked with the other areas in design and fortune. Wilson, as befitted his office, took the helm both in religious and educational matters. That his course of action in the first two decades precipitated a confrontation with the state, which affected schooling, is of particular interest.

In the course of this confrontation, schooling began a decline which saw a dismal state of affairs in the third and fourth quarter of the century. The fortunes of education may be seen as the corollary of the power of the Manx Church, an organization that was unique in the British Isles in respect of its command within the state. This was to be curbed by the Derbys, Atholls and the trends of the times.

Thomas Wilson was the sixth child of Nathanael and Alice Wilson of Cheshire. He was educated at Chester and Trinity College, Dublin, and was ordained in 1689. In 1697, after tutoring James, the son of the 9th Earl of Derby, he was persuaded to accept the Manx bishopric, which had been kept vacant since Baptiste Levinz's death in 1693. It was from this latter bishop that Wilson inherited a system of Church discipline which had become intrusive and ubiquitous, in marked contrast to that which existed in England, the Church in that country being in a "most unsatisfactory condition," its discipline being practically unadministered.[2] A.W. Moore has suggested that Wilson did not increase the severity of the discipline in Man, as is generally thought, but endeavoured to mitigate it.[3] Perhaps something nearer the truth is stated by C.W. Airne, who avers that Wilson's insistence upon maintaining a rigidly severe discipline saw his "zeal outrun discretion," thrusting him into a head-on clash with the civil authorities.[4] At any event, he championed a cause which was lost elsewhere, and persisted until the state martyred him.

As Bishop of Sodor and Man, Wilson enjoyed a position denied to any other bishop of an English diocese: he was a member of the governor's Council in Tynwald, the Court of Chancery and the Exchequer, in addition to being the sole baron of the island. He held courts in his own name for his temporalities in Man, which consisted of five manors (two near Jurby, the rest near Ballaugh, Crosby and St. John's.) If any tenant were to be tried for his life, the bishop had the right to claim him from the lord's court and try him by his own jury.[5] Such power caused Joseph Train to comment that "the bishop had the jurisdiction over life and limb with the right of erecting a cross gibbet on his land for the execution of malefactors."[6] As a temporal lord, Wilson was a power in his own right, but as the enforcer of a code of Church-instigated regulations which covered assault, drunkenness, profanity, slander, immorality theft and the like -- in addition to religious observances -- he was almost as feudal in his omnipotence as any Calvin, Knox and medieval baron combined in one personage. In his own words on this code:

> Church discipline is for the honour of God, for the safety of religion, the good of sinners and for the public weal, that sinners may not run headlong to ruin without being made sensible of their danger; that others may see and fear, and not go on presumptuously in their evil ways; that the house of God may not become a den of thieves; and that judgment may not be poured down on the whole community.[7]

Hand in hand with discipline went the idea that the ancient discipline of the early Church should be revered and respected, and could readily be imposed upon a relatively "simple and ignorant people of a country that few were inclined to think or care about."[8] It was therefore with this object in mind, and to administer a re-vamped, rigid and mechanical system of behaviour, that he drew up his "Ecclesiastical Constitutions" of 1703, included in which were references to the education of Manx children on a seven-day basis.

These Constitutions were fourteen in number and were presented to the clergy with the preamble that the Manx Church should not stand charged with the scandals which wicked men brought upon religion; that it should, by all laudable means, promote the conversion of sinners and oblige men to submit to the discipline of the Gospel; and lastly, that the Church "may provide for the instruction of the growing age in Christian learning and good manners."[9] It is this latter injunction, and in particular, canons 10, 11, 12 and 13, that are of special interest educationally, for, although Moore is correct in assuming that there was nothing in the Constitutions which had not been legally sanctioned prior to 1703, there is the fact that they became statute law by act of Tynwald in that year, and accordingly, the law of the land. "A breach in any of these respects was to call for censure, and in extreme cases, excommunication."[10]

This enactment ensured that what would normally be regarded as domestic matters within the Manx Church were now the concern of the state. Any breach of conduct or an offence against Church order and discipline was now recognized as an offence against the state. "Now that the government had agreed that censures could be imposed, they were under obligation to enforce them with the civil arm."[11] The theocratic state was as close to being a reality in Man as it had been in Geneva or New England, and the anglicization of Man, as started by Barrow and continued by Levinz, was to become a de facto policy of state, as well as Church. Education, by implication, became the concern of both branches of government, with the following Church-state rationale:

> For the promoting of Religion, Learning, and good manners, all Persons shall be obliged to send their children as soon as they are capable of receiving Instruction, to some petty School, and to continue them there untill the said Children can read English distinctly, unless the Parents give a just Cause to excuse themselves, approved by the Ordinary in open Court; 12

This same section (10.9) further states:

> Such Persons who shall neglect sending their Children to be so taught shall ... be fined in one shilling per Quarter to the Use of the Schoolmaster, who may refuse to teach those Children who do not come constantly to School (unless for such Causes as shall be approved of by the Minister of the Parish), and their Parents shall be fined as if they did refuse to send them to Schoole.13

Thus, Wilson made school attendance obligatory, with the distinct aim of making every Manx child capable of reading -- but not writing -- English, with the threat of fines and punishment for parents who did not comply with the law, thereby encouraging compliance and discouraging "neglect." Additionally, quarterage fees were fixed for the schoolmasters (who were still mainly clergymen) at sixpence "from the Parents of every Child that shall be taught by them to read English, and ninepence ... from such as shall be taught to write."[14]

Writing was to be considered a superior -- and possibly a more dangerous -- skill acquisition, and therefore warranted greater remuneration for the time and effort involved on the part of the teacher, and a proportionately greater financial commitment from the parents of those who wanted total literary powers for their off-spring. Only wealthier parents, one might suppose, would have opted for the secondary aspect of literacy, the first, reading, being provided gratis for those whose parents were certified by the minister and churchwardens as poor, and therefore deserving of charity.[15] The state would aid in the English schooling of those deemed to be too poor to pay the quarterage fees, a concept which was admirable in its altruism, but suspect perhaps in a cultural sense. No-one was to be excluded from this Church-state design of English-language familiarization, financial impoverishment being no hindrance as far as the fee-structure was concerned; schooling was to be mandatory for all.

Provision was also made for children who had to be kept at home for farm work for "severall Weeks in the Summer and Harvest," it being recognized that child-labour was of great importance on the land during these seasons. Such children were required in section 12 to attend the local parish church every third Sunday, one hour before the evening service. There, they would be taught by the schoolmaster, "to prevent losing their learning," the schoolmaster being obliged to do such Sunday teaching on pain of being discharged, should complaint be made to the ordinary."[16] (Such teaching was probably secular with religious overtones) For such "Sunday schooling," Wilson has been credited as being the founder of what Robert Raikes inaugurated in England in 1780, the first centenary of the latter's achievement causing a minor storm in the Manx press of May, 1880. The then-bishop, Rowley Hill, stated: "I cannot in justice to my great predecessor, Bishop Wilson, omit to claim him for the honour of being the real founder of the work."[17] Hill was perhaps justified in his claim, by reference to section 4 of the Constitutions, which dealt with the catechization of children and servants at church, before evening prayers.

Such catechization was obligatory, as was attendance, masters and parents being subject to an increasing scale of fines for neglect and non-compliance -- but this was no more than Bishop Levinz had ordained in 1685. Such catechization had been common practise in the Church since the early 1600's, and certainly since the introduction of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer.[18]

School inspection and regular visitation were also provided for in the Constitutions; the rector, vicar or curate of each parish was obliged to visit the parish school on the first week of each quarter, and enter into a register -- a "Book of Improvement" -- the name of every child in the school, along with the child's progress.[19] The ordinary had the power to request the book to check on attendance, quarterage payments and progress, much in the capacity of an inspector, with the added capacity of a truant officer. Here was Benthamite utilitarian thinking with a specific purpose long before the nineteenth century was to see such measures in education commonplace, a compliment, perhaps, to the logical side of Wilson's mind. The "Book of Improvement" was to be proof-concrete of the progress of a parish's youth into limited English literacy, and of the schoolmaster's endeavours in the service of Church and state.

As a final cap-stone on discipline and schooling, Wilson ordered that, for the "effectuall Suppression of Vice, &c.," persons absenting themselves form church were to be recorded by minister and churchwardens, as were the names of those who omitted to send their children and servants to be catechized, and those who did not send their "Children to Schoole" under Pain of the Severest Ecclesiasticall Censures."[20] This was no idle threat. In the parish of Marown, in 1704, there is evidence that in a presentment before an ecclesiastical court, William Cottier, Nicholas Kewley, Gilbert Kelly, William Kelly, William Moore, James Kelly and John Moore were all fined five shillings each (the equivalent of perhaps some three weeks' pay, if all were labourers) for "not sending their children to schoole, according to the Act of Convocation," and were ordered to reform forthwith.[21] Compulsory schooling, aided by section 14 of the Constitutions, which brought the civil authorities into the realm of enforcement at the behest of the Church, had arrived in no uncertain manner, the Church requiring the "Lord, his Councell, and the 24 Keyes" to assent to the "Ends" to which the Constitutions were designed.[22] These ends were ostensibly for the glory of God and the better welfare and government of the Church, but one cannot be totally ignorant of the hidden motives of control and anglicization, the powers of coercion being all too obvious in these ecclesiastico-civil canons. In short, the Manx were to be subject to regulations designed to enforce strict Anglicanism, the English language, and obedience to spiritual and temporal authority, in an exercise of new levels of awareness and practice. For those who failed to comply, either arm stood ready to castigate and prosecute. Those who complied avoided public humiliation and worse. Indeed, the vigour with which these regulations were pursued caused the Lord Chancellor, King, to declare: "If the ancient discipline of the church were lost, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of Man.[23] Unfortunately, it was this very vigour which caused it to bring grief not only to the subjects within its grasp, but ultimately, to the Church itself.

At this juncture, the course of Wilson's discipline must be examined, since education formed a considerable part of its jurisdiction, and, as De Montmorency points out, what in essence amounted to the first Manx education act, subsumed within the Constitutions, confirmed elementary and religious teaching in Man. De Montmorency is mistaken however as to the context within which the "act" was formed, and the purposes for which it was designed.[24]

Bishop Wilson was disturbed by the poverty of the diocese, and by the impoverished state of Church revenues, upon his first introduction to Manx society. The former he managed to rectify to some degree by persuading James, the 10th earl, who succeeded his brother William in 1702, that decaying farms and an embittered tenantry were the result of a harmful policy of the alienation of land rights begun in 1627. Accordingly, the Act of Settlement, 1704, redressed so many grievances that it became known as the "Manx Magna Carta." Numerous feudal services were abolished and tenants were given security of tenure: subject to the Lord's Rent, the tenant became the owner of the land, which he could then sell or bequeath. This move gained Wilson much favour with the Manx people, which was to stand him in good stead in the face of the harsh regimen which he imposed upon them. However, the second matter involved the rigorous assertion of tithes and the re-establishment of ancient privileges, moves which generated animosity, since the civil authorities were bound by the 1703-4 agreement to uphold Church rights. The fish and potato tithes were especially harsh, some twenty percent of each being claimed by the Church.[25] Wilson was adamant, however, that the ways of the ancient Church should be observed, and, as he stated:

> There is nothing more commendable than the discipline of this church .... Offenders of all conditions without distinction, are obliged to submit to the censures appointed by the church, whether for correction or example.26

And submit they did. The years until 1713 are replete with numerous cases of penance for petty transgressions, two punishments for which became notorious for their cruelty -- the bridle and boat-dragging.

The bridle, or branks, was instituted in 1714 at Wilson's request: "I ordered a bridle to be made, as a terror to people of evil tongues; and it is now brought about the circuit by the General Summer, and lodged in his hands ...."[27]

Its wearing by females in public was harsh enough in its humiliation and degradation, but boat-dragging was even worse. Here, a victim was dragged by ropes behind a rowing boat across Peel Bay. Wilson ordered this done twice to a mentally defective woman, who had the misfortune to give birth to four illegitimate children (see Appendix D). Such punishments were little short of barbarous, as Moore notes, but were in existence as punishments before Wilson's arrival; Wilson merely resqusitated them.[28] Little wonder that Waldron observed:

> The Discipline of the Church being perpetually dinn'd into the ears of the laity, and the indispensible obligation of submitting to it, the abject creatures are drove to prison like sheep to a fold 28

He further made comment upon the Manx clergy's power over the minds of the populace, in the following manner:

> Over the elder people of the Island, these men reign with the joined power of spiritual pastors and masters: their injunctions ... are delivered from the pulpit in harangues which go by the denomination of sermons ... but the chief and most frequent subject of their discourses is the power of the Priesthood and the discipline of the Church. These doctrines they thunder out ... with anathema tacked to them and enforce them by a strong argument called Kirk Jermyns, on all who are disobedient or unbelieving.29

The Church-State Confrontation

The Church-state collision, which was to have its effect upon education, started in 1713 over the question of money: fine-mitigation by the Church caused diminishing revenues to the Derby treasury, a fact which displeased the lord. Then, in 1715, Mary Hendrick, of Douglas, was presented for adultery with Isaac Allgood. She was convicted and excommunicated, but refused to do penance, instead appealing to Charles Stanley, the governor. Stanley upheld the appeal, upon instructions from Derby, and even fined Wilson £10 for contempt, when he failed to appear before the lord in the matter of the appeal.

But the discipline continued, Wilson insisting upon its necessity because of evil practices, evil books and evil notions becoming common. He even attempted the censorship of literature coming to the island, causing The Independent Whig to be banned in January, 1721, because he thought it subversive of the doctrine, discipline and government of the Church and Christianity. The governor ordered the work restored to the island, charging Wilson with failure to use the prayers composed during the 1715 rebellion, an equal act of subversion.[30] Further opposition to the discipline occurred with the question of the jurisdiction of punishment in the same year: a recalcitrant soldier who submitted to ecclesiastical law was tried by the civil authorities for submission to the Church, and was summarily drummed out of Castle Rushen garrison, after imprisonment by the governor. But the governor's wife was next involved, in a case of slander. The victim (a widow) appealed to Wilson for help, which he readily gave. The charges were found to be groundless, but the archdeacon, Horrobin, sided with the civil authorities and was charged by Wilson with unorthodox doctrines and suspended from office at the Convocation of 1722. Horrobin appealed to the governor, who sent a copy of Bishop Phillips' decision of a century earlier, that the lord's or governor's household, officials, soldiers and other personnel were exempt from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[31]

The upshot of the whole matter was that the governor, Alexander Horne, required the retraction of proceedings against Horrobin and his own wife (who may have faced the bridle), closing the chapel at Castletown without pretext. Wilson and the clergy appealed to Tynwald for justice, as well as to the Archbishop of York. The governor declared that the lord was also the metropolitan, apart from being the temporal ruler, and that appellants to York would be punished. Without the cognizance of Tynwald, but in agreement with his Council, Horne fined Wilson £50 and his vicars-general, William Walker and Matthias Curghey £20 each. The clerics refused to pay and were imprisoned in Castle Rushen, 1722, for a period of nine weeks.

Their release brought a general rejoicing of the people and another appeal -- this time, to the Privy Council, who backed Wilson's charges of illegality of action by the Earl of Derby, the governor and officers. They were censured, but the questions of jurisdiction and realms of power were left untouched. Horne was replaced with a series of more abrasive governors, including John Lloyd, Thomas Horton and James Murray. Lloyd wrote to James:

> It was impossible for me to do your lordship any service without wadging war with the whole country. This ... oblidges me to make use of the fox his tail and not the Lyon's skin. And if after all I cant from hence gather any honey into your lordship's hive, I shall, with the utmost indignation detest and abhor them.32

The war which followed saw the civil powers resort to further semi-legal ploys to curb ecclesiastical power, even the Keys being partial to Wilson's point of view, to the extent that both they and Wilson petitioned first Derby, then the Privy Council for help. The governor and Council also appealed to the Privy Council for support against the "arbitrary practice and proceedings of the Spiritual Courts ... carried on and exercised to the great destruction and ruin of numbers of families there," also charging that the discipline was "utterly of and inconsistant with the liberties and properties of the inhabitants and with the Protestant religion itself."[33]

But little more was heard of the appeals, possibly because of the lack of funds by the appellants. At any rate, the discipline began to fail, aided by the rebuffs from the civil authorities. Eleven of the Keys were replaced with more subservient men to the governor,[34] and, with the introduction of the Manx Bill of Rights in 1736 and the new Atholl regime's favouring of civil liberties, an end was placed upon the most stringent ecclesiastical penalties. The Church had to concede defeat, and decreed that accused persons had the right to be tried by jury (while customs duties were fixed with the consent of Keys and Council). Indeed, Walpole asserts that the clergy -- and even the bishop's own household -- were far from chaste and pure, and were scoffed at for their indulgences, such was the relaxing of the discipline after 1736. And it is interesting to note that between 1708 and 1736, there were 9 excommunications and 108 censures, whereas between 1736 and 1755, there were only 6 excommunications and 18 censures.[35] The decreases are indicative of the waning powers of the Church in the face of unsympathetic civil authorities, civil rights legislation and the general effects of the smuggling trade, which, by the onset of the Atholl regime in 1736, had reached considerable heights economically and socially. The times had become non-supportive of high-handed clerical governance, Montesquieu noting of the Anglican religious climate in England at that time: "There is no religion in England. If anyone mentions religion, people begin to laugh."[36]

The times were changing. The age of reason, and of lessening socio-economic control in Man by lord and bishop, were beginning to make their effects felt, as the island emerged from isolation and semi-feudalism during Wilson's episcopacy.

How, then, did all of the fore-going affect educational matters in Man? Did the Church-state dispute aid or harm the Barrovian "cure?" Did education benefit from the resultant liberalization of attitudes? These questions are not easily answered, but one may say that Manx education during this era of altercation took a turn from which it never fully came to regain its designed thrust, as delineated by the Barrow-Levinz tenets within Wilson's 1703 Constitutions.

The 1703 Education Act -- if it may be designated as such -- was a powerful instrument of social change and control only if the state saw fit to lend its officers to the Church in the prosecution of transgressors of its injunctions. That prosecution did occur immediately after the act's promulgation is an indication that compulsory education, or English schooling, was regarded by clerical and lay authorities as desirable for the entire juvenile population in Man. The Barrow-Levinz design could not have been better served by any measure, and Wilson obviously felt that it was prudent and correct to pursue, by statute, such socio-cultural intervention. But the belated contest between the two spheres of authority meant that co-operation was destined to cease, and this was applicable to education as in other areas of social control and support.

With the appointment of hostile governors and the subsequent withdrawal of the temporal arm in the matter of discipline-enforcement in the ecclesiastical courts, the enforcement of compulsory schooling was a lost cause, since education and its provision were seen as being an integral part of Church activities -- as indeed they were; the clergy provided the bulk of the teaching force in each parish and the certification of others, while the ordinary inspected the whole venture. The weakening of Church discipline meant that educational goals, though espoused by the state, were injured. Parents could ignore the 1703 Act with increasing impunity, should they so wish; the Church was virtually powerless to bring the offenders to court physically, without the aid of civil officials. Accordingly, the "cure" could not be effected as it was originally intended, only those parents who were desirous of English schooling for their children, and able to pay, being willing to partake of the amenities provided in the petty schools. Others cocked a snoot at a law without teeth, and ignored the protestations of the Church in all areas of the discipline, education included, only submitting, as Waldron noted, out of blind obedience through indoctrination, or an attack of conscience.[37]

The Manx Language: Douglas Grammar School; Charity Sermons; The Hastings Charity

Bishop Wilson's ideas on the education of children and adults prove to be of interest. He left much in the way of writings and sermons from which an insight may be gleaned as to his practises and direction. An admission, early in his episcopacy, that the "cure" was slow in taking effect, is provided by the following:

> The Clergy are generally natives; and indeed, it cannot be otherwise, none else being qualified to preach and administer the sacraments in the Mancks language; for the English is not understood by two-thirds at least of the island, though there is an English School in every parish; so hard is it to change the language of a whole country![38]

If he admitted that linguistic matters were not as he would have liked, his introduction of his own Principles and Duties of Christianity in 1707 demonstrates a deviance from the orthodox lines of Barrow, since he had the work translated into Manx by his vicar-general, William Walker. Then followed A Further Instruction for Such as have learned the Church Catechism, and plain short Directions and Prayers; A Short and Plain Instruction for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper. Significantly, in recognition of the failure to acquaint the Manx sufficiently with English, in order to read the Bible, he began the translation of the New Testament into Manx, his two vicars-general, Walker and Curghy, with himself, spending their time in Castle Rushen gaol, 1722, translating and correcting the Gospels and Acts -- despite the fact that he would have preferred the Manx language dead.[39] Wilson never did see the Bible fully translated, but, in 1748, and at his own expense, the Gospel of St. Matthew was published, albeit only fifty copies being produced.[40] The Prayer Book was left untranslated by him; this was probably a concession to language which he was not willing to make, although some two-thirds of the population (12,500) spoke no other language than Manx, the remaining one-third being conversant with English. Phillips' 1611 Prayer Book was strangely unacknowledged.

With the growth of Douglas, it became obvious to Wilson that the town was in need of a grammar school to cater to the burgeoning English educational needs of the sons of traders, merchants and artisans. Accordingly, £250 was "put out to interest upon a good security for the use of a Grammar Schoole in the town of Douglas," from the Academic Master's Fund. The security was probably in Ireland, since an identical amount had been assigned in the same year (1705) for the "Academick Master" in Ireland.[41] Some £1,200 had accumulated in the hands of the trustees at this time, and they instructed Wilson to increase the provision of secondary education, to invest and to liquidate outstanding claims. By a charter, executed in 1707, Wilson arranged for the appointment of a master for the new school to lie always with the bishop, not with the trustees, as was the case with the Castletown Academic School, and the post was attached to the chaplaincy of a new chapel -- St. Matthew's, founded in 1703. This dual role for the Douglas Grammar School master was to continue until 1878, when the school closed.[42]

The Castletown institution had by now progressed to the status of a grammar and academic school, the scholars being housed in the old St. Mary's

Chapel there, under the direction of the academic master (1698). In 1708, Wilson paid £2 10s. 0d. to Thomas Looney for the re-purchase of the original Academic School house, which was then turned over for use as a petty school. Such occurrences, as shown in the purchase of property for educational purposed in Castletown -- from his own pocket -- were apparently quite commonplace with Wilson. From his memorandum books, it may be seen that he freely gave substantial amounts of money for the erection of schoolhouses during the entire length of his episcopacy.[43] He also made some provision for the education of adults, the first public library being inaugurated by him in 1707, on the floor above the House of Keys chamber, in the building opposite Castle Rushen, Castletown. However, he did reserve the right to choose what the English-reading public might read, and permitted books of a devotional and practical nature only, these being designed to "instruct the people in the great truths and duties of religion." Elementary truths, written in the plainest manner, were to be the fare for the Manx mind, with the likes of the Independent Whig and other subversive literature being branded as seditious. Wilson was nothing if not true to the High Church, and might well have espoused fully the doctrines of Henry Sacheverell as he preached them in 1709.

With the Glebe Houses Act of 1734, the parochial libraries, begun in 1699 by Wilson, were to be properly maintained by every rector, curate or vicar, a catalogue of parish library books being entered into an episcopal register. Most of the books were donated by "several well-disposed persons," and were described as being "usefull and practicall."[44] It may therefore be said that Wilson sought to provide some measure of adult education, but within highly edited and prescribed boundaries, such literary censorship being deemed correct for the circumstances in Man. Contamination by outside sources, especially those smacking of whiggism, were feared, and the library contents were purged of all but othodox, Anglican literature. Duties, not rights, were to be learned.

The question of charity, already broached with regard to Wilson's personal donations and the children of the poor under the 1703 Act, ushers in an interesting chapter in the further provision of English education in Man. The mainland was to prove instrumental in providing money for the education of Manx children, as part of a general movement for charity schooling from the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Bishop Wilson gave a number of charity sermons in aid of educational enterprises in England. Perhaps his most famous charity sermon was delivered on behalf of the SPCK at St. Sepulchre's Parish Church, London, on May 28, 1724, at the time of the controversy over the value and purpose of charity schools. By way of explanation, the SPCK had inaugurated charity schooling in 1699, for the express purpose of educating the children of the poor so that they might read the scriptures and earn a useful, humble living within a society where existing social patterns were not meant to be disturbed. These children would then feel grateful to their superiors for the provision of such education, and would always be conscious of their place in society and of their duty to their enlightened benefactors.[45] Providence had placed each person in a particular rank and station, and it was the duty of each person -- particularly of the poor -- to remain content with his lot in life. Naturally, salvation through biblical reading was desired for all, and this, it was hoped, would be achieved in the charity schools with a program of limited literacy. The question was, however, would the poor be content, humble, grateful and subservient after such an education? Not all levels of societal "betters" were convinced that such would be the case.

As early as 1712, Sir Richard Steele, writing in The Spectator, thought that charity schools were the "greatest instances of Publick Spirit" the age had produced for creating a "Race of good and useful servants." But he expressed doubts about the provision of too much knowledge.[46] Joseph Addison, writing in The Guardian, in July of 1713, similarly lauded charity schools, calling them the "Glory of the Age," for providing reading and writing for the next generation, along with the early "Tincture of Religion."[47] But the dispute grew with the fears of the destruction of the social order through such educational endeavours, denial of education to the poor was the surest way of maintaining the rigid status quo, and Bernard de Mandeville said so. This anglicised Dutchman, in his "Essay on Charity Schools," called for caution in such education. He was cautious about the possible wrong motives behind education for the poor, and, as a founder of economic liberalism, he reasoned that no nation could achieve greatness without large numbers of illiterate people to perform necessary drudgery. Reading, writing and arithmetic were "pernicious to the Poor," since they were "forc'd to get their Daily Bread by their Daily Labour." Time spent in school, for such children, was"so much time lost to Society," and going to school, in comparison with working, was "Idleness," making youths unfitted for labour, both by "Strength and Inclination."[48] Such education could only corrupt the natural order of things, making those with learning too proud for labour, too demanding and non-servile, distanced from a "Laborious, Tiresome and Painful Station of Life," the earlier submission to which was achieved, the better.[49]

But the system did have its defenders. William Hendley, in his reply to de Mandeville's charges, in 1725, stated that charity schools promoted security and happiness for the nation, "for they teach Children to order themselves lowly and reverently to all their Betters."[50] Indeed, the lessons of humility, he thought, killed the seeds of pride and made people content in their stations, happy in their labours and subservient to their masters. Additionally, religion and loyalty were assured for the future, and the poor were to be kept "serious and sober, peaceable and quiet," free from meddling with "those that are given to change."[51]

It was into this discussion that Bishop Wilson launched himself as the representative of the Manx on the mainland. His sermon of 1724 extolled the virture of charity schooling in the provision of a Christian education, giving children order and happiness "to all eternity." As he said:

> The first and great Design of these Schools is to make Children Christians in Deed as well as in Name; ... Should not this be our First and great Concern? To plant the Fear of God in their Heart betimes; 52

He expressed the opinion that children were sinful, wicked and without redemption. They needed deliverance from corruption, sin and wickedness, and so that virtue might be instilled in them -- and for the promotion of better civil government, the love of God and the honouring of King -- he recommended a "method of education." This, he stated, would achieve the good of mankind, the glory of God, happiness in this life and the blessings of the world to come.[53] Anglicanism was the support of the state, and the "most effectual means of keeping men within the bounds of duty and obedience; the fear of God being the only sure principle of loyalty to be depended on."[54]

In another sermon, delivered at St. Peter's, Cornhill, he spoke on the charity education of girls,[55] stating that "they who are educated by these charities are taught all the necessary principles of Christianity" in a "most plain and ordinary way," and that such girls would not forget "their God, their benefactors, the principles in which they have been educated, the duties they have been taught, and the sins they have been warned against."[56]

What, then, did all this portend for the Isle of Man? During the period of the controversy, Man already had some provision for charity in the form of support for those too poor to pay the necessary quarterage fees demanded by compulsion, and there had been continuing charity via the various funds: the Royal Bounty, the Imporpriate Fund, the Academic Master's and Students' Funds. There was no charity school of the kind, however, found in England, especially where children were kept in a food and clothing to the tune of some fifteen shillings per child per year.[57] The SPCK, in any case, was not active in Man at this time, but this did not deter Wilson; he set about looking for a wealthy philanthropist whose money could improve the existing parochial schools and perhaps relieve the clergy of their teaching duties, an obligation which had been in force since Levinz's 1685 Convocation. He achieved both by his influence over Lady Elizabeth Hastings, of Ledstone, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, at a time when schooling and the clergy were threatened with financial hardship from the Atholl regime. His timing could not have been better (see page 97)

Wilson inspired Lady Hastings to devote her life to charities and works of mercy. One year before her death (1739), she placed in trust lands within the West Riding for perpetual charity.[58] Some £20 per year was to go towards the salaries of the masters and mistresses of petty schools in the Isle of Man, since they were "very meanly provided for, "the teachers having "little or no encouragement to do their duty." At the same time, the Manx children were described as being "destitute of instruction and such learning as is even necessary for the meanest Christian: .... "[59] These descriptions are most revealing as to the state of education in Man, circa 1739. It is obvious that all was not well with the system after the Church-state struggle.

By the terms of the charity, the Bishop of Sodor and Man was to distribute the money at Easter to those masters and mistresses who did not receive the Royal Bounty (which was applicable to only six schools, viz. Castletown, Douglas, Ramsey, Kirk Andreas, Kirk Bride and Ballaugh), upon the production of a certificate, signed by the vicar or churchwardens, stating that each had done his or her duty in discharging an English education in the parish school. Thirteen petty schools out of some nineteen were to receive this Hastings Charity; they were: Kirk Michael, Jurby, Lezayre, Maughold, Lonnan, Onchan, Marown, Santan, Arbory, Rushen, Patrick and German.[60] There were two conditions attached; first, each master or mistress had to be licensed, and had to apply to the vicar for a visitation in the first week of each quarter. A certificate would then be issued, guaranteeing the award of money[61]; without the certificate of proven duty, no money was given, the sum being distributed among the certified. Second, the payments did not endanger the Impropriate Fund payments, and no parent was excused from quarterage payments, if they had the capability of paying. It did not subsidize the fee structure.

It can thus be said that the charity was a mixed one, split between educational and religious purposes, ensuring that the catechism and attendance at church were co-equal with English instruction.[62] Financial control of the charity was placed in Wilson's hands for disbursement; if the schoolmasters had achieved the objectives delineated within the terms of the charity (which had been formulated by Wilson's suggestions to Lady Hastings), they were rewarded by the receipt of some thirty shillings and ninepence each. A form of "payment by results" was thereby instituted, long before Robert Lowe was to devise the scheme, and conformity to official curriculum guidelines was assured by this being added to the other measures previously in existence. It should also be noted that the clergy were now being relieved of their teaching duties and placed in a superintending capacity, thanks to Lady Hastings. The idea of a teaching clergy had not been well-received by some clerics, the vicar of Malew showing the contempt with which he held Levinz's injunctions of 1685, and no doubt the unpopularity of the dual role had persisted into the eighteenth century. Wilson himself may well have realized that Manx clerics were not necessarily the right people to provide English schooling to Manx children: the fact that two-thirds of the Manx population spoke only the native vernacular is a fair indication of the effectiveness of the Barrovian "cure" to the year 1740.

In keeping with events and values on the mainland (and in which Wilson had become periodically supportive with sermons and writings), the question of language, which had loomed so large in the previous century, was shaded somewhat by the primary need to provide for a stable, morally upright and God-fearing peasantry, individuals who would be content in their stations and respectful towards their betters. It was this side of education that assumed a new importance, and Wilson was willing to make language concessions to the Manx, since, as he proudly wrote, the Church was safe, and there had not been "for many years one Papist a native in the island; nor indeed are there Dissenters of any denomination ...."[63] And if the Church was safe, then so was society.

The Church, then, could well feel pleased with its reforming work, despite the failure of the discipline -- which was attributable to the English and anglicized administration, and not the people themselves.

Thus, from the era of the Hastings Charity onwards (1740), the Church in Man was willing to change its stance in education somewhat: it was quite prepared to devolve teaching upon suitable lay persons in place of clerics, and not to make English its primary goal in instruction. The new teachers were to be licensed, as always, and were to be screened by the bishop before assuming their positions. They were, in the main, Manx natives who were anglicized, since knowledge of Manx was still an essential attribute if effective teaching and communication were to take place in the petty schools. And the schools, once laicized, assumed a different character: although still Church-controlled in finance and curriculum, clerical intrusion was lessened -- in conjunction with the discipline -- and, though still watched over by the now-superintending clergy, there could never be the same commitment to religion and discipline by lay persons as there had been by clerics, no matter how they viewed their roles as teachers. This change-over era saw the progression of a decline in education at the elementary level which moved steadily into the century.

Hugh Stowell may well have been correct when he wrote that Wilson regarded the improvement of the parochial schools as an object of high importance, and was unwearied in his endeavours to render them extensively useful.[64] George Waldron, however, had a different opinion of the Manx petty schools and their masters at this time. An alien witness and in the employ of the British government (1720-30), reporting on the import-export trade, Waldron stated:

> How improperly the motto over St. Paul's School Ingredare ut proficies would suit one of these (schools) may be easily concluded from the character of the learning of these temporal masters; but as no more is reasonable expected from any man than he is capable of performing, the great deficiency in the scholastic part of the education of youth here, we will, in charity, reckon a misfortune than a fault or neglect in the teachers.65

But if he was scathing in his measurement of Manx elementary education, Waldron was searching in his observation of the clientele; his allegations in one area, in particular, prove interesting, and if correct, cast doubt upon Wilson's claim concerning Anglican ubiquitousness. Apparently, to Waldron's horror, Catholic children were being admitted quite freely to the petty schools:

> Yet one error, and that an enormous one ... that they admit into their schools the children of Papists, as it were, for no other purpose than to keep them in ignorance, taking so little regard of them ... that they suffer them to go in blindness and divert themselves with fables or legends; while other boys of the same age are instructed in an explanation of the church catechism, publish'd in English and Manks for that purpose, and are every Sunday publickly examined therein in their respective churches or chapels; in which places the former are wholly exempted from ever appearing.66

With the "frequent opportunities which the Popish children have of corrupting ... the tender principles of their Protestant school fellows,"[67] along with the above observation, it would appear that Manx petty schools (during the latter Wilsonian years) may have been less monolithic than might be supposed. In the last quarter of the century, dissenters' children were freely admitted to the schools in the parishes, but this second-quarter admittance of Catholics -- despite the putches of 1715 and 1745 on the mainland, and the penal laws in operation against Catholics, especially in nearby Ireland -- is intriguing. Wilson, it would seem, turned a blind eye to their presence. Toleration may have been increasing as the vigour of the discipline decreased.

The Atholl Lordship: 1736-1765

A further point to be considered in relation to schooling from 1736 onwards is the termination of the rule of the Derbys and the onset of the Atholl lordship of Man. The Atholl presence was to cause change in the island's governmental policy. The 1737 Bill of Rights assured everyone the right of trial by jury and provided for greater Atholl consultation with the Keys and Council, especially regarding financial matters. However, James, second Duke of Atholl, proved to be no friend of the Church, and consequently, of education in Man.

Apart from having Tynwald rule that civil authorities were no longer to aid in the arrest and imprisonment of persons sentenced by ecclesiastical courts,[68] he laid claim, in 1735, to the whole of the impropriate tithes, ignoring the 1666 agreement between Bishop Barrow and Charles, Earl of Derby. The clergy and the schoolmasters had their livings cut drastically, since the deeds of conveyance could not be produced to substantiate the agreement.[69] A suit, on behalf of the clergy and schoolmasters, against James, Duke of Atholl and Edward, Earl of Derby, was entered in the High Court of Chancery in November, 1742, by Wilson and his archdeacon, John Kippax. The deeds were eventually discovered in the Rolls Chapel, London, in 1745, and the security of the impropriations established, but the suit was not settled until 1757, when agreement was reached to make amends for the impoverishment of the clergy and schoolmasters over the years of eviction (amounting to £3,219 11s. 10½d.) and to pay the claimants the annual sum of £219 7s. 10½d., which was then distributed among the clergy and schoolmasters.[70]

Twenty-two years of impoverishment affected the petty schools adversely, as the Hastings Charity duly noted in the early years of this eviction. As the suit dragged on, fewer suitably qualified men were willing to serve as schoolmasters or clergymen on demoralizing, starvation wages. The number of censures against clergymen rose, since many were unsuitable for the calling, being prematurely ordained to fill the ranks of those who had left in search of better things, with the smuggling trade proving to be a great lure for both clerics and schoolmasters.[71] Schoolhouses lapsed into a state of poor repair, and vestries were used instead. Wilson's 1747 Convocation address complains of the neglect of the petty schools and warns the schoolmasters against such neglect; a petition from Kirk Braddan, 1749, complains of the empty, ruinous schoolhouse, classes being held in the Clerk's dwelling house, an inconvenience which prompted the Clerk to ask the bishop for an authorized person to teach the children on the spot until they were old enough to travel to some better school.[72] Unlicensed teachers also began to spring up, defying the weakening hand of the Church as Wilson's later years drew to a close. In 1750, the schoolmaster of Kirk Malew complained that Thomas White had opened a school in Ballasalla without a license. White was ordered to desist, refused, and was imprisoned. He thereupon pleaded that he taught writing and arithmetic only, and not reading, reversing the usual literacy pattern of the day, and therefore, did not have a proper school and was within his rights to operate such an establishment.[73]

White's fate is unknown, but his fate is only of marginal importance; what is of importance is the further evidence of Church authority in education being weakened, and an opportunist seeing enough neglect around him to feel safe enough to challenge the traditional authority of the Church and supply a need. The Duke of Atholl's eviction/appropriation undoubtedly speeded a process which might have been delayed until later in the century; it certainly lessened the quality of teachers, since only the most desperate were willing to teach in an occupation which had become miserly in its remuneration. Clerical supervision faltered under a less-dedicated clergy and enforcement of the 1703 Act as regards attendance was virtually non-existent, since the Church was now powerless to prosecute parents. The state had dealt a blow to Barrow's designs -- and Wilson's -- by way of withdrawal of support for educational matters during the course of the conflict with Wilson on discipline, jurisdiction of rights and Impropriate Fund confiscation. The cause of anglicization at the hands of the Church was thereby harmed.

In addition, the tenor of the times as regards charity, in conjunction with the economic climate of Man, worked their influence in weakening English petty schooling, and even Wilson had to make language concessions in the fact of the shift evidenced by the rationale behind the charity school supporters, concessions which were to be taken to even greater lengths by Wilson's successor. It was indeed proving hard to enforce education along desired lines and to change the language of a whole country, as Wilson admitted.[74]

Wilson continued to the end of his days to exhort the clergy to maintain as much of the old ways as possible. He held strong views on many things and wished to see adherence to dogma as a bulwark against change. His taking to task of the masters of the Castletown Academy, William Ross and Alexander Macon, in 1718, over doctrinal questions in teaching, serves well to illustrate this, as does his horror of free-thinking -- which the Independent Whig episode displayed.[75] However, for stiffening the orthodoxy within the ranks of the Manx clergy, he founded a theological college at Bishops court (1700) where students received his personal attention. This college, with the recipients of the Academic Students' Fund provided an elite for Anglican education in the island. Further worthy secondary school students were catered for in the grammar schools of Douglas, Ramsey and Castletown. These were added to in 1746 and 1763 by foundations in Peel, with a grammar and mathematical school. The Peel schools, in their founding, show a difference from their sister-schools of the previous era in their raison d'etre, and these two establishments thus merit some examination.

The Peel Grammar School, endowed by Phillip Moore, a Manxman, with the proceeds of £500 British, was entrusted to the bishop and Keys to be given a "proper Schoolemaster, qualified to teach Latin, and such other learning, as may fit youth for the service of the country in Church or State ...." A Master of Arts was thought "proper" by Moore to teach in his "proper Schoole" in some convenient place "as near the centre of this Island as might be thought most proper ...."[76] The Mathematical School was endowed by the Rev. James Moore, the ground rent of three houses in Dublin's Blind Quay providing £20 Irish yearly for the erection of a mathematical school for "ten poor scholars to be taught gratis for ever, in the different branches of that science." Moore ordered his own books to be sold, so that mathematical books and instruments could be provided for the school. John Stevenson, another Manxman, living in London, gave £100 in trust in 1775 for the education of two poor scholars, alternately nominated by the governor and the bishop, who were also trustees. Sir George Moore gave a house in Peel for the use of the master, while Catherine Halsall, a Manx spinster living in Chesire, probably feeling that the Castletown Grammar School was in need of similar endowments to keep it in step with the Peel developments, gave property in Castletown to the school towards the building of a house for the master, with the proviso that, should this be declined, the trustees (the bishop, vicars-general and four clergymen of Rushen sheading) were to build a school for teaching girls only to "read, sew, knit and spin, the yearly salary of the Mistress not to exceed eight pounds British, and £2 a year to be allowed for repairs."[77] Halsall's school came into existence in 1764, with a license being issued to Elizabeth Goddard to teach the girls in Castletown.

The spate of endowments for schools other than common petty schools came when the charity school movement on the mainland had largely spent itself, the fashion having passed by about 1730,[78] although there is some evidence to show that the peak may have been reached some thirty years later, in 1760.[79] However, these benefactors preferred to see the able poor given an education which could not be found in the now-suspect Manx parochial schools. Phillip Moore's wording in his bequest is most telling here, indicating that perhaps even the existing grammar schools had become suspect, since the word "proper" occurs pointedly. Additionally, the scientifically-oriented Mathematical School and Halsall's Girls School -- the one catering for youths destined for the sea, the other for girls in a literate domestic capacity, with no religious formularies for either being stressed -- were a deviation from the schools traditionally seen in Man. The Mathematical School appears to be the closest thing to a proprietary academy at this time, and breaks the pattern of secondary schools in the island, which were, in the main, founded upon traditionalist lines. Grammar schools on the mainland, it must be noted, were suffering from falling enrollments, due to economic and societal pressures, inflation and the challenge from academies of the Peel variety. New foundations were few.[80] But the Mathematical School obviously fulfilled a growing need on the island, one which had been felt for some time in England: that of catering to the growing commercial classes desirous of learning practical subjects, as opposed to the classics and dead languages. Rather belatedly, a cleric saw the need in Man and acted, probably all too aware of the changing economic and political circumstances facing the Manx.

Those who entered the Mathematical School between 1768 and 1784 tended to opt for a life at sea after their education, but not all did so, as may be seen from the following information:

Richard Wilson (Lancashireman), master. 95 students total, 1768-84.

Occupation	Number	Per cent
At Sea: Chief mate, mate, captain	40	42
Ship's carpenter, cabinet maker	5	5
Teacher of mathematics, schoolmaster	3	3
Clerks	2	2
Surveyor	1	1
Shoemaker	2	2
Merchant	2	2
Blacksmith, whitesmith, wright	4	4
Fisherman, servant	2	2
At home	8	8
At school	16	17
Dead	10	11 [81]

The percentages show a preponderance of graduates in what may be termed "better occupations," but it is obvious that seafaring was a prime calling for the youths fortunate enough to be sponsored for education in the school. The curriculum was noticeable for its stress on providing the necessary competencies for a "Master of a Man of War or Merchantman," and for "bringing forward a young man intended for the sea."[82] It was, in effect, a trade school, preparing a selective group of practical-minded Manx boys for merchant and naval service in ships flying the Union Jack.

Smuggling and its Consequences: The English Take Over, 1765

With the Isle of Man's position in the Irish Sea, it is little wonder that a high proportion of graduates from Peel found themselves involved with the sea. The years of Wilson's episcopacy saw economic conditions on the island become increasingly affected by the smuggling trade. The extent of the increase of Manx custom revenues is indicative of the increase in the activity (see Appendix C), and it is fair to say that by the middle years of the eighteenth century, the island had become the centre of a vast network of illicit commerce.

The social effects of the island's new importance as an entrepot were, as previously mentioned, not wholly beneficial. Drunkenness increased with the easy availability of liquor (there were 300 ale-houses operating in 1740, one for every 53 people, while there were only approximately 23 petty and grammar schools, or one for every 696 people), and greater amounts of specie were in evidence, mainly from Britain and France, making the pursuit of pleasure so much easier on the heels of the failing discipline. The goods, the strangers and the money all flowed into the island at a rate which accelerated the normal pace of socio-economic growth, the population growth showing a 5,000 person increase in the 30 year period between 1726 and 1757: 14,066 to 19,144, while the period to 1784 shows an increase of almost 6,000 over 27 years (see Appendix A).[83] The four major population centres were especially affected, Douglas having the most noticeable increase of inhabitants moving from 810 persons in 1726, to 1,814 in 1757 to 2,850 in 1784. Wages increased and segments of labour were freed from their "keep" as a traditional part of remuneration among labourers in agriculture.[84] There was also confusion with specie, as evidenced by the Rev. James Wilkes' diary of 1755,[85] but this did not deter the Manx from welcoming the new entrepreneurs.

However, this prosperity only served to draw increasing attention to the island, giving it notoriety in Westminster, and moves were made which eventually brought Man within Britain's grasp.

After the 1707 Union, which saw customs officials placed along the British mainland, Man was regarded as an economic threat to Britain.[86]

By the 1750's, the Manx were trading with Sweden, Holland and India, George Moore of Ballamoar being a typical entrepreneur, who dealt with Gothenburg, Rotterdam and Cawnpore,[87] while others dealt with France, Spain and Portugal. But political, as well as economic considerations, forced the British to look for an effective termination of the whole business, and the Gentleman's Magazine of May, 1751, well expressed the fears and indignation of the British. In an article entitled "Isle of Man Detrimental to Britain," Man was described as being a "STOREHOUSE or MAGAZINE for the French and other nations to deposit prodigious quantities of Wines, Brandies, Coffee, Teas, and other India goods;...."[88] Fugitive Irish papists were reported to be undermining the trade of the East India Company while remaining inviolate as citizens of Man.[89] Additionally, the French monetary gains from the trade prompted alarm:

> The loss to the nation, and the gains to the French, are inexplicably great. And as all the sums drained from us are employed by them, in times of war, to hire troops and pay armies to fight against us; it will be no exaggeration of the truth to say - - - - That since the peace of Utrecht, they have drawn more money from us, by means of their trade with this small island, than was sufficient to maintain 30,000 men, with a train of artillery, during the late war in Flanders.[90]

Two hundred thousand pounds per year was considered the sum being lost to the Treasury, a sum greater than "all the royalties and jurisdictions of Scotland."[91] Apart from the cost of maintaining cruisers and officers around the coasts to guard against the Manx smugglers (reckoned at £15,000 - £20,000 per year), the island had come to be regarded by the English, as a "fortress in the hands of our enemies, draining us of specie (for all these goods are paid in English coin); and also continually annoying us in ... trade and commerce."[92] Obviously something had to be done. A military blockade of the coast, as was set up in Kent and Sussex, would not meet the case. The problem was more legal and constitutional than physical, and as Jarvis notes,

> So long as the Isle of Man enjoyed its peculiar and anomalous constitutional position, and so long as it abused it so heartily, there was little the mere machinery of Customs could do about it. This was generally recognized within the service.93

The question of the dispossession of the Manx was posed, terminating Manx independence with the trade, and the proposed solution was to treat with the "present proprietor to relinquish his right to the Isle of Man,"[94] a solution first mooted in 1725, but forgotten. The fate of the "petty sovereignty in the hands of a proprietor"[95] was now determined; with the death of James Murray, 2nd Duke of Atholl, in 1764, George Grenville, of Stamp Act fame, started negotiations with John, the 3rd Duke of Atholl, and his wife, Charlotte. The proprietors procrastinated, spurring Westminster to pass an act for "more effectually preventing the mischiefs arising to the revenue and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, from the illicit and clandestine trade to and from the Isle of Man." [96] This Mischief Act authorized British ships to search and seize all vessels in Manx waters and harbours; war was virtually declared against the Manx.[97]

A settlement was quickly reached for the purchase of regalities and customs rights, after the Treasury rejection of £299,773 for all the Atholl rights; £70,000 was the final sum agreed to, in March, 1765, by way of compensation for the vestment of the above rights in the Crown, with an additional £2,000 allowance from Irish revenues being awarded later. The Isle of Man Revestment Act allowed the Atholls to retain the property rights, patronage and privilege of the Lordship, while the sovereignty of the island was taken from them, George III becoming the first regal Lord of Man. [98] The British had bought legal control of the island.

Man was to be governed through Whitehall-appointed officials and the Treasury appropriated the whole of the customs revenue, the surplus remaining -- after meeting the cost of insular administration -- going to Britain. The Privy Council became the immediate and final Court of Appeal for any appeals from the island, Tynwald being discounted as little more than an anachronistic curia.

The people themselves were never consulted over the disposal of the island. They were treated with indifference by both parties, their wishes unheard; they had no choice but to accept the transfer of authority and all that it entailed, their control over finances lost completely.[99]

The Imperial Government passed yet another act in 1767, imposing new and heavy measures of taxation on the Manx, a measure which was being duplicated in the American colonies, who chose not to suffer such high-handed action. But the Manx, unrepresented in Westminster, had little choice but to suffer the imposition. British officials treated the Manx with suspicion and disdain, as befitted those at the heart of the "very citadel of smuggling," as Edmund Burke dubbed Man in 1774.[100] The trade had been so profitable that the Manx had lost interest in fishing and farming, and the stemming of smuggling brought great hardship to all, with the flight of ships, merchants and money from the island.

A new era of assimilation and colonialism was beginning which was to affect more than just the economy: the metropolis was to have a profound effect upon the whole existence of the island, from legislation to language, economics to education. Oppressive, semi-feudal statutes, such as those covering "yarding" were swept away as a result of mainland governance, while education, religion and the ethnic nature of the population were to undergo changes which would not have been contemplated during Wilson's lifetime.

Bishop Wilson died in 1755, as the smuggling trade was reaching its height. He was succeeded by Bishop Mark Hildesley (1755-72), a man of different temperament who brought an ideology of education and language rights with him which was in contrast to that which had preceeded him. If Barrow thought that the imposition of the English language upon the Manx was the best way to introduce scriptural enlightenment and limited literacy, Hildesley thought the exact opposite: the Manx were to have the Scriptures in their own tongue, so discouraging had been the progress of the Barrovian "cure," and it was in this direction that his energies were turned. But it was to be a false dawn.

Linguistic toleration and encouragement could not long delay the anglicization of Man. And education, its fate tied to that of the Church for so long, now found itself embarked upon a correspondingly changed course under the English administration; it was never to be quite the same again as in its heyday prior to the second decade of the century.

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[2] **A.W. Moore,** A History of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900; reprint ed., Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust, 1977), vol. 1, p. 488.

[3] **Ibid.,** and Sodor and Man, p. 188.

[4] **Airne,** Story, p. 102.

[5] **Rev. B.H. Kelly,** "Some Reflections on Church and State Relations in the Time of Bishop Wilson," IOMNHAS 6 (#3, March 1960 - April 1963): 341.

[6] **Joseph Train,** An Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (Douglas: Mary A. Quiggin, 1845), vol. 2, p. 13.

[7] **Rev. C. Crutwell,** The Works of the Rt. Rev. Father in God, Thomas Wilson, D.D., 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Bath: R. Crutwell, 1772), vol. 2, p. 313.

[8] **Kelly,**"Reflections," p. 340.

[9] Statutes of the Isle of Man 17 vols. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883; Douglas: Brown and Sons, 1886-1961), vol. 1, p. 155.

[10] **Kelly,** "Reflections," p. 325.

[11] **Ibid.**

[12] Statutes, Ecclesiastical Constitutions, 1703-4. #10.9, p. 158.

[13] **Ibid.**

[14] **Ibid.** This was section 10.10, which was for the "further Encouragement of Schoolmasters," who were allowed to receive the fees "over and above the Sallerys already allowed them." (ibid.) Refusal to pay fines within fourteen days of assessment was to result in incarceration for neglectful parents "till they submit to Law." (ibid.)

[15] **Ibid.** Section II states:
"Where the Parent or Relations are poor, and are not able to pay as afforesaid, and this to be certifyed by the Ministers and Churchwardens of the Parish to the Ordinary, such Children are to be taught Gratis." (ibid.)

[16] **Ibid.**

[17] Mona's Herald, May 26, 1880. Bishop Hill stated:
"No one who has read these (Constitutions) will question the fact that,

as far as the British Dominions are concerned, the institution of Sunday-schools belongs to Bishop Wilson. We may certainly claim for our Convocation ... the institution of Sunday-school work." (ibid.)

[18] The 59th canon of 1603 ordered ministers to catechize every Sunday, and the 1662 Book of Common Prayer authorized curates to instruct parish children in the catechism on Sundays and Holy days. In the previous century, "The Boke of Common Praier" of 1559 dealt with the same subject in virtually the same terms. (ibid.)

[19] Statutes, Constitutions, section 12, p. 185.

[20] **Ibid.**, section 13.

[21] **D. Kermode Parr,** "Compulsory Education in the Isle of Man 200 years Ago," The Education Outlook, November 1927, p. 389.

[22] Statutes,section 14, p. 159.

[23] Biographical Dictionary, 32 vols. (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1817), vol. 32, p. 177.

[24] J.E.G. De Montmorency attributed the 1703/4 Act to the conception of the Republican Parliament. Nothing can be further from the truth. He also is unsure as to the scheme of education upon which Wilson based his Constitutions:

> "There does not seem to be any reference to education earlier than the year 1703 in the Manx statutes, and the schools were probably mere voluntary Church schools or even possibly customary parochial schools supported by something in the nature of a voluntary rate."

He does, however, call it an "effective system," more so than that introduced into New England in the previous century. (See: J.E.G. De Montmorency, State Intervention in English Education (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), pp. 104, 155-160.)

[25] See: **Moore,** History, pp. 514-6. Potatoes were introduced into Man in the first decade of the eighteenth century. Other root crops had been introduced in the latter part of the seventeenth century in an effort to bolster the sagging state of agriculture, and Wilson himself introduced the use of lime, as both a fertilizer and soil-replenisher. The Manx copied his farming techniques. Farms were generally small and ill-furnished with adequate implements. The livestock was of poor quality, comprising cattle, goats and pigs, while sheep were reared for wool. Hemp, flax, rye barley and oats were commonly grown, with peas and beans being plentiful. There was a general lack of knowledge of drainage and fertilization. Clover was not introduced until 1770 and turnips until a few years after this. The agrarian revolution, as experienced in England, was slow in making its appearance in Man, the first model English-style farm being that of Basil Quayle, 1793. Science in farming took a back seat to lore during the eighteenth century.

[26] **A.W. Moore,** The Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man (Douglas: Brown and Son, 1891; reprint ed., S.R. Publishers Ltd., 1971), p.172. He further stated:

> "Such as do not submit (which have hitherto been few) are either imprisioned or excommunicated; under which sentence, if they continue more than forty days, they are delivered over to the Lord of the Isle, both body and goods. The manner of doing penance is primitive and edifying." (ibid.)

The penitent had to stand during the church service, wrapped in a sheet; the congregation then prayed for him. A second offense meant standing at the church door, trying to convince fellow-parishioners of innocence or of sincerity in reform, and, until such was achieved, the penitent was forbidden to enter the church. (ibid., p. 173.)

[27] **Ibid.**, p. 176. George Waldron commented on this punishment, stating that the transgressor -- a scold or gossip -- stood on a scaffold in the market place, with the tongue in a noose of leather. (George Waldron, A Description of the Isle of Man (London: 1744; reprint ed., Douglas: Manx Society, 1864, with an introduction and notes by William Harrison, MHK), pp. 114-124.

[28] **Waldron**, Description, p. 21.

[29] **Ibid.**, pp. 20-21.

[30] Biographical Dictionary, p. 177.

[31] **Moore**, Sodor and Man, pp. 195-6; and History, pp. 493-4.

[32] **Airne**, Story, p. 103.

[33] **Moore**, History, p. 502. Waldron makes comment upon this conflict in the following manner:

> "As the earl of Derby, though styled Lord of Man, might justly enough be called king, - all causes, except in the spiritual court, being tried in his name, and all warrants for life and death signed by his hand, - his utmost endeavours have not been wanting to curb the assuming power of the ecclesiastics. As, for example, when the sumner comes to apprehend any person for an offence committed, or said to be committed, in that court, had the person so seized courage enough to refuse going to prison under his conduct, he cannot be compelled, because the soldier of the garrison have orders from their commanders never to be aiding or assisting such commitments. Hence it follows that the spiritual and temporal powers are at the extremist odds with each other; ...." (Waldron, Description, pp. 114-124.)

[34] The House of Keys at this time was not a representative body. They were self-elected and held their seats until death, resignation, bankruptcy, gross-misconduct, loss of the qualifying landed estate -- or dismissal by the lord or governor -- removed them from office. They were mainly gentleman-farmers, the leading agriculturalists from the six sheadings. All twenty-four members, until the reforms of 1866, owed their position to sponsorship by the incumbents or the governor. (See: R.D. Farrant, Mann: Its Land Tenure, Constitution, Lord's Rent and Deemsters (London: Humphrey Milford, 1937), p. 41.)

[35] **Kelly**, "Reflections," p. 340.

[36] **Kenneth Clarke,** Civilisation (London: British Broadcasting Corporation and John Murray, 1969), p. 269.

[37] **Waldron,** Description, pp. 114-124.

[38] **Crutwell,** Wilson, p. 456.

[39] **David Craine,** "The Bible in Manx," IOMNHAS 5 (#5, April 1954 - March 1956: 1957): 453; and Moore, Sodor and Man, p. 218.

[40] **Ibid.**

[41] The Isle of Man Charities (Liverpool: D. Marples, 1831)p. 26.

[42] **E.C. Owen,** A Hundred Years of Education: King William's College, Isle of Man 1830-1930 (Douglas: Brown and Sons, 1930), p. 26.

[43] Such instances are as follows:
1715 Sulby School-house, to which I gave five pounds.
1716 I Built a new school-house at St. Patrick's and recovered the Glebe.
1722 A new school-house in Kirk Christ Lezair, to which I have given three pounds.
1729 July 10. I gave five pounds towards building a petty school and house for the master of Ballaugh.
1734 May 3. I gave two pounds towards building a school-house in Kirk Rushin, and a good one is now built which saves the church from being abused. (Crutwell, Wilson, p. 58.)

[44] Statutes, vol. 1. Glebe Houses Act, p. 208. The list was required to preserve the books from "Embezzellment" and to ensure that "all future Benefactions may be satifyed that their pious intent shall not be frustrate." (ibid.)

[45] See: **V.E. Neuberg,** Popular Education in Eighteenth Century England (London: Woburn Press, 1971), p. 2.

[46] The Spectator, #294, Wednesday, February 6, 1712.

[47] The Guardian, #105, Saturday, July 11, 1713. He further stated: "A Charity bestowed on the Education of so many of her (Queen Anne) Subjects has more Merit in it than a thousand Pensions to those of a higher Fortune who are in greater Stations in Life." (ibid.)

[48] Bernard de Mandeville, "An Essay on Charity-Schools," in The Fable of the Bees, 2nd ed., edited with an introduction by Phillip Harth (Peguin Books: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1970), pp. 294-5.

[49] **Ibid.,** p. 295.

[50] **William Hendley,** A Defence of the Charity Schools (London: 1725), p. 88.

[51] **Ibid.,** pp. 45, 26, 38. He further stated:

> "While these Schools last ... we shall be in no Danger of falling under the Papal Yoke, a Slavery worse to be borne than the Gallies; for they are the greatest Bulwark against Popery, of anything that has been set on Foot since the Reformation." (ibid., p. 109.)

[52] **Bishop Thomas Wilson,** "The True Christian Method of Educating the Children both of the Rich and Poor. Recommended more especially to the Masters and Mistresses of Charity Schools." Sermon, preached on May 28, 1724, at St. Sepulchre's Parish Church, Twenty-five Sermons Preached at the Anniversary Meetings of the Children Educated in the Charity-Schools in and about the Cities of London and Westminster on Thursday in Whitsun-Week, 1704 - 1728. (London: Joseph Downey, 1729), pp. 12-14.

[53] **Ibid.**

[54] **Ibid.,** p. 35.

> "Children are the most proper subjects of an education which regards another Life. Before they have been suffered to grow wild; Before their souls shall have been polluted, their senses deprav'd their Minds and Memories corrupted by Evil Principles and evil Examples, for when 'tis thus with them, we shall find it the hardest thing in the World to perswade them, even to hear what we shall have to say on the Part of Religion." (ibid., p. 11)

[55] **Crutwell,** Wilson, vol. 2, p. 279.

[56] **Ibid.,** p. 338. This was Charity Sermon # 79: "The Advantages Arising from the Christian Education of Poor Children, and Especially of Poor Girls." It is also worthy of note that Wilson established a petty school in Peel, for girls only. This was the "Bishop Wilson's School," which received the interest from £50 in order to pay the salary of the schoolmistress. (See: Charities, p. 64.)

[57] See: **M.G. Jones,** The Charity School Movement (Cambridge: University Press, 1938; reprint ed., Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1964), p. 376. Each boy was provided with a Yorkshire Broadcloth coat, pewter buttons, a waistcoat, a pair of breeches, a cap, a band, a shirt, a pair of wollen stockings, a pair of shoes, a pair of buckles and a pair of gloves; the cost, in 1714: 15s. 8d. Each girl was given a petticoat, with strings and body lining, a coif and band, a shift, an apron, a leather bodice, a pair of stockings, a pair of shoes, a pair of pattens (clogs), a pair of buckles and a pair of gloves; cost: 16s. 1d. Children aged 7-12 (usually orphans) were thus materially provided for.

[58] See: **Rev. Charles E. Medhurst,** The Life of Lady Betty Hastings (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1914), pp. 234, 223-4.

[59] Charities, p. 40. The Lady Elizabeth Hastings Charity was enrolled in the High Court of Chancery, on April 14, 1739.

[60] **Ibid.,** pp. 40-41. At least nineteen petty schools were operating in 1740, as shown by the Hastings Charity. M.G. Jones, in The Charity School Movement, claims that thirteen such schools were "opened" by Lady Hastings and Bishop Wilson in the Isle of Man, then filled with children by the imposition of a fine of one shilling upon parents who did not send their children to school (pp. 64, 40).

This can be seen as being somewhat erroneous: the schools were already in existence prior to the Hastings intervention, their operation only being supplemented by the £20 charity, and, there is no evidence that special fines were levied for parents who did not comply with Hastings-Wilson educational wishes -- apart from those which were already in evidence from the 1703 legislation, which by this time (1739-1740) would have been difficult to have imposed because of the Church-state rift and the lack of support for any Church-assessed misdemeanors, education being a prime example. The 1703 Act had become, by this time, a statute which was not enforced by the civil authorities as regards compulsion, and was, to all intents and purposes, a relic of the old discipline.

[61] This certificate showed that:
"Such Vicars or Incumbents respectively have visited the said Schools in their respective Parishes, according to the laws and constitutions of 1703; and that the children there have been carefully taught, and do improve in learning and good manners, are taught to say their prayers and catechism, and do duly attend the public service of the Church." (ibid., p. 41.) These rules of visitation were endorsed on May 29, 1740 at the Bishopscourt Convocation (Crutwell, *Wilson*, pp. 37-8.)

[62] See: "Lady Elizabeth Hastings Charity," *Manx Church Magazine*,34, June 1924, p. 81.

[63] **Crutwell,** *Wilson*, vol. 1, p. 454.

[64] **Rev. Hugh Stowell,** *The Life of Thomas Wilson, D.D.* 3rd ed. (London: C.J. and G. Rivington, 1829), p. 40.

[65] **Waldron,** *Description*, p. 19.

[66] **Ibid.** Waldron considered the schoolmasters "negligent," "indolent" and "wicked" for allowing Catholic children to be educated alongside Anglicans in the parish petty schools. He also noted that the masters were generally chosen from the ranks of the clergy, which would have been the case prior to 1740. (ibid.)

[67] **Ibid.**

[68] *Statutes*, pp. 212-225.

[69] Clergymen's salaries were approximately £17 per year; schoolmasters' were approximately £8. The bishop, by comparison, received a salary of £300 in 1700 and £400 after 1730. (Moore, *Sodor and Man*, p. 224.) The salary of a Manx schoolmaster was little more than would be received by an agricultural worker, and was still at the £18 level in the 1830's. (See: *Charities*, pp. 69-129.)

[70] It was calculated that £217 8s. 4½d. per year was the approximate value of the tithes; £1,132 11s. od. was accordingly awarded for the years of eviction, down to Easter, 1751, while a further £1,087 1s. 10½d. was awarded to Eater, 1756. (*Charities*, pp. 12-13.) For further information on this topic, see: William Cubbon, "Early Schools in Mann," IOMNHAS 3 (#1 May 1925 - April 1926: 1927): 123-4; Train, *Account*, p. 360, 393-4;

Moore, Sodor and Man, pp. 159-161; and Margot Cameron-Jones and Dollin Kelly, "Education in the Isle of Man," in Education in Great Britain and Ireland (London: Routlege and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 27.

[71] **Kermode Parr,** "Pages in the History of Manx Education," Isle of Man Examiner, May 24, 1929.

[72] **Ibid.**

[73] **Moore,** Sodor and Man, p. 207.

[74] **Craine,** "Bible in Manx," p. 543. "The English," wrote Wilson, "is not understood by two-thirds at least of the Island, though there is an English school in every parish; so hard is it to change the language of a whole country." Wilson himself could speak Manx without much hesitation, an accomplishment which neither Barrow nor Levinz -- nor any Lord of Man -- achieved. Perhaps his linguistic concessions stemmed from his understanding of the language which his predecessors had tried to quash, or at least relegate to a point of disuse.

[75] **Moore,** Sodor and Man, pp. 224-5.

[76] For particulars of these endowments, see: Charities, pp. 60-63.

[77] **Ibid.,** pp. 43-44. See also: L.S. Garrad, "Catherine Halsall's School, Castletown, and the Finigan Family," JMN 7 (#82 1966): 41.

[78] **John Lawson and Harold Silver,** A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen and Company, 1973), p. 185.

[79] **Nigel Middleton and Sophia Weitzman,** A Place for Everyone (London: Victor Collancz Ltd., 1976), p. 27. Some 30,000 children in England were catered for in 1760.

[80] See, in particular: **Richard S. Tompson,** Classics or Charity? The Dilemma of the 18th Century Grammar School (Manchester: University Press, 1971) and Nicholas Hans, New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1951).

[81] **Ann Harrison,** "The Mathematical School, Peel," JMN 7 (#88 1976): pp. 215-6.

[82] Richard Wilson, master, thought the following necessary:

> "It is necessary he should learn the five Rules in Arithmetic, the Geometry, and plan Trigonometry, afterwards, it is usual to work the Tides; then proceed to Plane Sailing, oblique, windward and current sailing, ... Then follows Globular Sailing, including Mercator's Charts. After which it is necessary to learn how to find the variations of the Compass, by Amplitudes and Azimuths, how to correct the Ship's Courses for variations and Sea-way, how to find the latitude by Observation at Noon, and by two Altitudes, and to find the Longitude by Lunar Observations; after which he will be able (in all cases) to keep a Ship's Reckoning. But those who are desirous of knowing the Reason of every Branch, had better learn Robertson's Elements of

> Navigation, proceeding regularly through the whole." (ibid., p. 212, Goldie-Taubman Papers, Manx Museum Library)

[83] See Appendix A: Douglas had 1,814 persons in 1757, and according to the London Magazine of January, 1754,

> "one the east side (of the island), is the most populous, and has the largest and best harbour in the island. It is defended by a fort, which makes it impregnable by sea. The French and other foreigners come hither with bay salt, and buy wool, leather, salt and beef, so that the town has a great market, and it is the richest in the island." (p.8.) It was noted that the Manx spoke an Erst language, a dialect spoken in the highlands of Scotland, and that they were "orderly, civilized and courteous to strangers." Further:

> [84] **Ibid.** It also noted:
> "Thin oat cakes is their common bread. Their commodities are black cattle, lambs wool, fine and coarse linen, coarse woollen cloth, hides, skins, honey and tallow; but herrings were formerly their staple commodity." (ibid.)

[84] Labourers received 6d. to 8d. per day; carpenters 1s. 5d. to 1s. 6d., and masons 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. without "keep." Yarding was still in effect, however. The cost of living had risen, aided by shortages from drought, famine and pestilence, the years 1739-1744 being particularly hard on the population.

[85] This can be seen by the notation in the front of his diary:
"English money to Irish ---------- add 1/12
Irish into English --------------- add 1/13
English into Manx ---------------- add 1/6
Manx into English ---------------- add 1/7
Irish into Manx ------------------ add 1/13
Manx into Irish ------------------ add 1/4

(from the diary of Rev. James Wilkes, 1755 M.M. MS G100.)

> [86] The Manx had attempted a feee-trade agreement with Britain in 1711, but had been rebuffed, even after Tynwald had prohibited illicit traffic. In 1725, Westminster enacted legislation which prohibited foreign produce from being imported into Britain from Man; it also stationed commissioners on the island -- such as George Waldron -- to report on the extent of the trade. But the trade fourished, despite the British measures, and the authorization of the Lords of the Treasury to treat with Lord Derby for the purchase of the royalties of the island (sanctioned by the 1725 legislation).

[87] **T.A. Bawden, L.S. Garrad, J.K. Qualtrough and J.W. Scatchard,** Industrial Archaeology of the Isle of Man (Newton Abbot, David and Charles, 1972), p. 15.

[88] "Isle of Man Detrimental to Great Britain," Gentleman's Magazine, May 1751, p. 201.

[89] **Ibid.**, p. 202.

[90] **Ibid.**

[91] **Ibid.**

[92] **Ibid.** The Stamp Act was expected to produce £100,000 per year from the American Colonies; the Manx were depriving Britain of £200,000 per year, according to the writer of the article in the Gentleman's Magazine. £100,000 is the more quoted figure.

[93] **Rupert C. Jarvis,** "Illicit Trade with the Isle of Man 1671 - 1765," Lancashire and Chestine Antiquarian Society 58 (1947) : 263. Even in time of war, it was noted in the First Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Cause of the Most Infamous Practice of Smuggling (1745), the trade between the Isle of Man and France continued, thereby adding a further gall in the English side. (ibid., p. 261)

[94] Gentlemen's Magazine, **p.** 202. As the writer of the article stated: "A question tnat admits no dispute, if the publick good and welfare of our country are to determine it! - - - - Nor can there be any one good reason assig'n, why this Island should have remain's so long in a manner independent of Great Britain." (ibid.)

[95] **Ibid.**, p. 201.

[96] The History, Debates and Proceedings of Both Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, from the Year 1743 to the Year 1774 7 vols. (London: J. Debrett, 1792), vol. 4, pp. 262-3. The legal position of Man was described as being "part of the Crown, but not of the realm of England. It is under the allegiance of the King, but governed by its own laws and customs." (ibid., p. 265.) Further:

> "The King, as liege Lord, has the sovereign appellate jurisdiction in all causes: but his writs do not rule there. No process in the Courts of England goes there. No suits arising there, whether at the instance of the party or the King, can be determined in England. The King cannot evoke any cause from the jurisdiction of the Isle of Man." (ibid., p. 266.)

[97] A report from the Customs Commissioners in Scotland, prepared for Parliament in 1765, presented smuggling activities in alarming terms, and sought to "advise the Government to declare war against the Isle of Man." (ibid., p. 273).

[98] The Act of Revestment is 5 Geo. III c 26. The Mischief Act is 5 Geo. III c 39.

[99] **D.G. Kermode,** Devolution at Work: A Case Study of the Isle of Man (Westmead, Farnborough, Hampshire: Saxon house, 1979), p. 29.

[100] **R.H. Kinvig,** The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural and Political History, 3rd ed. (Liverpool: University Press, 1975), p. 121.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECAY OF THE OLD, THE INFLUX OF THE NEW:

ENGLISH ADMINISTRATION 1765 - 1820

The Reign of Bishop Hildesley, 1755 - 1773: A Revival of the Manx Language and the Decline of English Schooling

On April 19, 1755, a meeting took place in England between Dr. Thomas Wilson, the son of Bishop Wilson, and Dr. Mark Hildesley, the future Bishop of Sodor and Man. The two men were introduced by the Rev. James Wilkes, a Manx clergyman, who was in England on educational matters pertaining to the Academic Fund, the Peel Clothworkers' School and the possibility of a Manx scholar attending "Colledge" in Oxford as a protegé of the Manx Church.[1] As it happened, Hildesley was to become the protegé of not only the Manx Church, but of Manx Gaelic, and at the time of this meeting, he had but little inkling that he would be the instrument of a 180 degree reversal of the policies of his seventeenth century forebears in language, nor that he would inherit a crumbling and much-vaunted discipline, of which schooling was a major part.

Dr. Wilson's father, Bishop Thomas Wilson, had died on March 7, 1755, aged 93. He had served fifty-eight years as the Bishop of Sodor and Man and had steadfastly refused to be translated to any other diocese in the British Isles, regarding Man as his "poor wife." Wilson's successor, Mark Hildesley, was consecrated as the new bishop on April 24, and installed in St. German's Cathedral, Isle of Man, on August 6, 1755. His episcopacy spanned the years of the English Revestment and the initial English administration of the island, and ended in 1772, a time which witnessed the inroads of Methodism in Man, the first serious threat to the monolithic Anglicanism. It also witnessed the continued decline of Church discipline, English petty schooling endeavours and the Church thrust to promote the use of English in Church and school, and in so doing, saw the resurgence of the Manx language in the shape of the printing of the Bible, Prayer Book and books of devotion in Manx. It was an epoch of political, linguistic and religious transition, and saw Man emerge as something more than a mere smuggling entrepot threatening Britain's back door; she emerged, belatedly, into the mainstream of British life, and gained acceptance as a long-overdue Imperial acquisition, albeit at the expense of an ancient independence.

At his coming to the island, Hildesley realized that the problem of language had to be solved. His predecessor, Wilson, had softened the original Barrovian doctrine somewhat by the limited printing, in Manx, of some religious works, but Hildesley recognized that half measures would promote no solution. He voiced the following concerns in a letter of 1762:

> The Manks people, in general, are naturally shrewd, of quick apprehension, and very apt to learn; and they would be, I am confident, extremely fond of pursuing the Scriptures, if they had them, and were taught to read them in their own tongue, as they are the English Bible; which the latter, numbers can do very roundly, whilst they scarce understand the meaning of a single sentence; nay, I might say, I believe, of some, a single word!2

The English petty schools had obviously had some effect, but i was of a superficial nature for the majority of the Manx: they could read English, apparently, but not fully understand what they had read, despite the program of the petty schools. The Gaelic tongue, as Wilson had found out, was indeed hard to displace.

In the churches also, what had been termed "off-hand translations" from the English Bibles by the Manx clergy, were regular features of the service, the renditions being "varied, and more or less exact, according to the judgement, the diligence, and the abilities of the officiating reader."[3] The degree of verismilitude between the printed word and its Manx translation was found to be quite wide, with the junior clergy especially, the whole exercise being described by Hildesley as a "melancholy experience of the Church of Christ established in this land."[4]

Just how perplexing the whole linguistic situation appeared to be may be gauged from a further observation of Hildesley, in which he stated that he found it remarkable that the Manx clung to their language, in view of the fact that there was "no grammar, or spelling, or any other book in the Manx tongue," save the Wilsonian translations of the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Catechism.[5] Tribute was paid to the schooling received by the Manx children in the petty schools by his observation that "all are taught to read English and scarce write any other," no master or mistress being allowed to teach without a "Bishop's licence or appointment, or receive their salary without a certificate from the ministers of respective parishes, who are obliged to visit the school for that purpose, to see whether they can do their duty."[6] Yet, despite this, he found the clergy and laity extremely tenacious in the retention of Manx, English still being the spoken language of the gentry. English, it would seem, was not in the ascendant, for the populace, outside the walls of the school.

Accordingly, Hildesley decided that the Manx language should be fully recognized -- and in so doing, undermined the original raison d'etre of English petty schooling in Man. The Church acknowledged that its one hundred year drive to replace the language of the Manx by means of compulsory schooling had failed, along with its ideals of discipline, this latter having fallen into a state of contempt, with court judgements of "dismissed

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as frivolous and admonished" becoming commonplace.[7]

It is quite probable that every person on the island at that time -- gentleman or labourer -- could speak Manx to some degree or other, or at least, understand it. Even Hildesley attempted to learn it, knowing full well that it was the only vehicle by which the teachings of the Church could be conveyed to the majority of the people under his care. He once admitted that he would give five hundred pounds to be master enough of the language to translate it.[8] But opinion among the anglicized Manx was divided as to the ultimate benefit to be derived from encouraging the use of Manx at anything more than a minimal level, as a letter from Hildesley to the Rev. Philip Moore, headmaster of the Douglas Grammar School, indicates. The leading Manx people were in favour of promoting the use of English and against any leniency with Manx, their argument being that as long as Manx continued to be recognized as the insular tongue, the people were being deprived of the obvious advantages of the English world, from books to "civilization." Hildesley's problem, though, was that of immediacy and expediency: whatever may come in time, at that particular time the majority of the people knew only Manx Gaelic as a working language; English, as a general language for all classes, was still a distant realization.[9]

At the Convocation of Clergy, 1758, Hildesley declared a great desire to see the Catechism printed in Manx and urged the clergy to use their best endeavours to "improve the use and practice of the Manks tongue."[10] The ordinary service of the church was consequently translated into Manx, as were the psalms and occasional offices. No more than one psalm was to be sung in English in any of the country churches on any Sunday or Holy day, and, it was ordered that "Manks should be preached as a rule."[11] Here was a complete change of direction as regards the vernacular, and the clergy, at first, doubted Hildesley's orders, so ingrained had become the Barrovian doctrine.

Progressing from the service and psalms, Hildesley next set his sights on nothing less than the complete translation of the Bible, and approached the SPCK in 1762 with this express purpose. He was given £100 "for the purpose of printing the Scriptures and other good books in the Manks tongue."[12] (The SPCK had been aware of the linguistic problems in Man since the receipt of a letter from Bishop Wilson in January, 1700, in which he bemoaned the ignorance of the common people and their lack of English, expressing hope for his English school endeavours and desiring to know the method of regulating the charity schools, which the SPCK was promoting.[13]) The 1763 gift marked the first real involvement of the Society in Manx affairs, other than that of sending copies of letters and lectures when requested by Wilson, and as such, spurred numerous charitable English persons to do the same; even the Archbishop of York acquiesced in Hildesley's intended scheme, both with the Liturgy and the Bible (and, indicentally, donated £21 to the SPCK Manx Bible Fund), and in so doing, sanctioned the change of Anglican policy in Man.[14]

In a proposal of the following year, the SPCK assigned £500 for the printing and distribution of 2,000 Catechisms, 1,200 Christian Monitors and 1,000 copies of the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Manx language, in recognition of the fact that of the twenty thousand souls in Man, the far greater were "entirely ignorant of the English Language; .... "[15] Wilson's Form of Payer for the Herring Fishery was also published, along with a reprint of his Principles and Duties of Christianity. The reception by the Manx people to this long-awaited use of the vernacular was described by the Rev. Philip Moore in glowing terms: the translations were avidly sought after, the people "almost ready to eat the Manks Monitors which are now among us."[16]

But the past century of anglicization, although it had provided the means via the petty schools for the reading of the vernacular once it appeared in print, produced elements of hostility: the Anglicized Manx of the towns -- particularly the educated merchants and artisans and the products of the Castletown Academic School -- were openly contemptuous of the new crusade, causing Hildesley to lament that the Isle of Man was "the only country in the world that is ashamed of, and even inclined to extirpate, if it could, its own native tongue."[17] Opposition also came from his own clergy, especially in the Castletown and Douglas areas, who were contemptuous of preaching in Manx to anglicized congregations, while anti-Manx feeling in England (amounting to prejudice in view of the animosity generated by Man's involvement with the smuggling trade) prompted many English people to see Man and the Manx as a "nest of smugglers, having no religion, the most insignificant and worthless people upon the face of the earth."[18] There was indeed great clamour against the Manx, as Hildesley correctly gauged, but with Revestment in 1765, mainland attitudes changed, and the appeal for charity brought a resumption of the grants from English philanthropists and the SPCK. The Bible in Manx, Yn Vible Casherick, was duly brought out in stages, from 1771 to 1775, with some twenty-five Manx clerics taking part in the translation, prominent among whom were Philip Moore and Dr. John Kelly, the latter producing the first Manx Grammar in 1780, and a Manx-English Dictionary, originally intended for use by the bishop.[19]

What, then, did all this portend for schooling in Man? Quite simply, it had the effect of weakening the desire to learn English in the deteriorating English petty school system, despite the fact that Man was now under English governance and officially part of Great Britain. Indeed, the Manx may well have seized upon this recognition of their own language in the face of quickening enculturation and the possible loss of an independent identity as a means of preservation of that which readily set them apart from the English -- their tongue. At any rate, the Manx Church had virtually declared the Barrow-Levinz-Wilson philosophy of English schooling, for the purposes of spiritual salvation and the blessings of English civilization, to be a suspended aim. The Manx language was accorded a new status on the island, co-equal with that of English, in a move which may be justly termed expedient. Yn Vible Casherick became the authority for the Manx language, infusing fresh vigour into both language-pride and religious interest, both of which had languished prior to its appearance. Indeed, the unforeseen exaltation of spirit which this language-recognition generated seems to have laid the groundwork for the swift acceptance of Methodism when it appeared on the island (in conjunction with other factors) together with the impassioned eloquence of the Manx lay preacher's outpouring of religious verse in Manx Gaelic, known as Carvals.

All literate ranks contributed to the growing fund of Manx Gaelic material which, for a number of years afterwards, continued to bring pleasure and pride to the Manx-speaker,[20] although the vernacular movement was discouraged by Hildesley's successors, all of whom regarded it as contrary to the intended nature of things. This ethnocentrism was shared by a growing number on the island, as the Imperial administration brought in mainlanders in official and non-official capacities.

Education received its due interest from Hildesley, since he desired to see the Manx as literate to a man in order that the Manx Bible could be read in the now-standarized orthography. He constantly exhorted the clergy to visit the petty schools in an attempt to shore up what he knew to be a system unable to enforce the old regulations, despite the wording of the certificate issued after each visitation, which attested that, in accordance with the 1703 Constitutions, the duly licensed master/mistress had carefully taught the children in learning, manners, the Catechism and prayers, and that the children all attended public worship.[21]

Schools and Teaching, 1770 - 1800: Church Laxity, John Shimmin to the Rev. Thomas Castley

Teaching, it would seem, had continued to be an unattractive occupation for able-bodied men, many of whom, like Myles Crow, forsook the schoolroom for smuggling, a more financially rewarding activity which persisted on a diminished scale until the end of the century.[22] Indeed, if the example of Kirk Bride parochial school is typical, then Manx petty schools were witnessing more female in-roads into this once-male preserve, a result of the lack of available males willing to teach. In 1772, the parishioners of Kirk Bride had petitioned for a schoolmaster, not having had one for some time, and suggested the licensing of a female, who had been teaching privately. The petitioners stated that the female candidate taught reading and writing, as well as knitting and sewing, and would therefore be doubly useful. They ended their petition with the guarded hope that, should the woman be found acceptable by the bishop, her stipend would be that accorded for all previous master of the school.[23] She was subsequently hired.

Attempts were made, as records show, to curtail the falling attendance in the petty schools (1751), the curates being assigned the duties of truant officer. Those individuals who did offer themselves as potential teachers had to undergo a trial period, during which time the approval of the vicar, curate, churchwardens parishoners would be sought.[24] Hildesley himself attempted to provide a good example amid changing circumstances by clothing and providing for the education of twenty poor children (his choir) at Bishop's Court, all at his own expense. He provided them with a schoolhouse and a "handsome stipend for a master and mistress." Additionally, he personally examined the Academic School scholars at Bishop's Court each month, testing their abilities in the classics, Greek Testament, Thirty-nine Articles and scripture-reading, since these youths were destined for the Manx Church and were to be models for all to emulate.[25] His promotion of such academics as Philip Moore, master of the Douglas Grammar School for forty-six years (1735-1781), a Manx-language scholar and product of the Academic School, Castletown, shows his concern for Manx scholarship in general, at a time when the King's scholars on the mainland were viewed by the Rev. James Wilkes (a Manxman) as a "set of lewd, profligate and abandoned wretches, oftener in stews and brothels than in their school."[26] Even so, a number of leading anglicized Manxmen preferred to send their children to be educated in England, the educational receipts of Sir George Moore's family from 1760-1785 giving ample proof of the English-preference for the gentry in the education of sons, while daughters tended to be tutored at home.[27] Even in an era of indolence in England, in Church and higher education, when unchallenged abuses in all forms of corporate life existed (the result of the victory of law over arbitrary power from 1688 onwards, and the conservative reaction favouring inertia ie., laissez faire), the Manx elite chose to look to England for schooling, although schools for the upper class existed in Man, albeit in a miniscule form.

But if Church, universities and schools were "half asleep" during the eighteenth century, as Trevelyan phrased it, the situation in Man was not exactly the same, even if contempt and neglect both found themselves becoming more frequent after Hildesley's passing, in conjunction with the tenor of English governance. Presentments, previously noted as frivolous, became even more so, and began to include the clergy themselves.[28] It became difficult to bring any disciplinary cases before the spiritual courts, non-attendance at church and school included. Most of the cases between 1773 and 1800 were for swearing, and an English officer, stationed in Man, expressed disgust for the whole system of degenerated discipline in the following manner:

> My pen revolts ... with transcribing such nonsensical stuff, such as must draw a smile from every person of common sense; an indignant one it must be; that within a Protestant country, in this enlightened age, such absurdities should be tolerated.29

When children were presented for misdemeanors, their correction was usually left in the hands of parents, who were still liable to be fined if the necessary remediation was not undertaken. Castletown, Douglas, Ramsey and Kirk Michael became the centres for administering discipline at the end of the century, the parish churches no longer being the scenes of local court/actions.[30] The discipline of the Manx Church was effectively reduced to an occasional penance after 1800, and by 1825, it was considered to be dead. With it went the means to enforce attendance at the English petty schools; habit and custom kept the children there, not the fear of an appearance in court.

Under Bishop Hildesley's successors, the Manx Church decayed to its lowest point since the Commonwealth era; the English petty schools similarly followed in decline, tied as they were to the fortunes of Anglicanism in Man.

Bishop Richard Richmond (1773-80) was English, haughty, overbearing and disliked by the clergy; George Mason (1780-83) and Claudius Crigan (1783-1813) were incompetent. All three were unfitted for the challenges which arose in religion and education in Man during their combined episcopacies, and George Murray (1813-27) was little better, the question of tithes showing how little compassion there was for the welfare of the average Manx native. Indeed, the irksome tithes were resumed with vigour in 1769, the Fish-tithe prompting especial hatred, followed by the practice of selling tithes in a number of parishes during the same era.[31] Exactions imposed by the Church were to have serious repercussions in the nineteenth century and engendered little love or respect for the institution among the common people. But hand in hand with this increasing contempt for the Church and general laxity of the clergy went the attached fortunes of the parochial schools. The schools were now blunted somewhat in their collective aim, as originally envisaged by Bishop Barrow. Since the change of direction under Hildesley, the policy of anglicization had become ameliorated, with the added fillip of the recognition of the Manx language and the SPCK's bountiful help in providing much sought-after Manx religious literature. The old cause of English-familiarization was now given a back seat, especially in the country districts where the vernacular held sway. The spelling of Manx, with the orthography fashioned in the Vible Casherick, became standardized, and this in turn produced a proletarian preference for proficiency in Gaelic, not English; English was the imposed language which thrived mainly in the towns, where English schooling made itself felt, but the countryside was the stronghold of the old tongue. And the weakened condition of the Church, together with the indifferent attitude of the English administration until approximately 1800, meant that the enforcement of schooling -- of either Manx or English linguistic weighting -- was impossible. Parents, in increasingly dire financial straits to the end of the century, found it difficult to afford the required quarterage fees, in marked contrast to the economically buoyant era prior to Revestment. True, the Church, in its wording concerning schooling for the poor in 1703, had shown willing to educate poor children gratis, but times had changed; the Church was experiencing financial troubles in direct relation to the general Manx economic distress, and what the economy felt, the Church also felt: there was little money to repair churches, let alone educate hundreds of poor children. The desire for education may have been present with many families, but the means were not, and it was no coincidence that this period saw beggary significantly increase, along with emigration, as the distress took hold of the population.

The records show that the neglect of schoolhouses prevented education taking place in many parishes. The decay in such provision, first noted during the 1730's and 1740's, now reached new depths after Hildesley's passing. In 1786, a petition from the schoolmaster of Ballaugh pointed out the "utter ruin and desolation" of the schoolhouse, no fire having been possible during the previous winter, the building having become "unsafe and hazardous" for all within.[32] In 1799, Ramsey petty school was badly in need of repair, the building being temporarily used as a court, despite its dilapidated condition, the school simply being closed until the money was found to make it habitable for children.[33]

The control of the Church in the licensing of all schoolteachers continued, but, as has previously been noted in the case of Thomas White of Ballasalla, renegade schools did find their way into Man, from approximately 1750 onwards, challenging Church control in a number of districts. A circular letter to all teachers, of January, 1776, directing petty schoolmasters to produce their licences for examination by Bishop Richmond, also asked them to "signify to any Person or persons who Presume to keep a school for the Education of Youth without a proper Licence for that purpose, yt they are forthwith to Desist and forbear doing so." Therefore offenders would be prosecuted and "suffer such Punishment and Penalty as the Law in his behalf directs."[34] The letter also instructed the masters to "shew to every person who keeps a school within their respective Parishes," a clear indication that the Church was attempting to be informed of unlicensed schools which it expected would be operating. As to whether it could make good its threat to fine or imprison those found in contravention of the old laws regarding licences is another matter, since evidence is scanty here.

A further instance of the slipping hand of the Church in education and community support is shown with the John Shimmin affair of 1777, in which Shimmin's licence was suspended by the bishop for an "inconsiderately worded" petition. Shimmin had taken over the duties of schoolmaster from Richard Gelling, the latter having resigned, leaving the Kirk Michael school vacant "for want of a proper teacher, to the great detriment of the parishioners in the education of their children," who wanted their children brought up in the "Knowledge and Fear of God, and Duty to their parents and superiors." Shi[illegible]orbidden to teach, despite the wishes of the people of Kirk Michael, and affirmation that he taught "faithfully, carefully and diligently," the children having "much improved under his care." Consequently, the school remained closed for some months until Bishop Richmond appointed the curate, Mr. Clague, as the new master, upon the recommendation of the vicar, Mr. Crellin, who disliked Shimmin. Thus, despite the protestations of parents, a proficient layman was barred from teaching for a petty transgression and a cleric was preferred, something which had not occurred since 1739. One is forced to wonder if Shimmin opened a private school in the district, knowing that he had a ready clientele, as a "Mr. C." did in January, 1789, petitioning for his licence on the grounds that he intended to impart "useful literature and sound morality" to his charges, with boarding, washing and tuition costing £10 per annum.[36]

On the secondary level, all was not well either. The trustees of the Academic Fund had engaged the Rev. Thomas Castley, of the University of Cambridge, to be master of the Academic School, Castletown, in 1758, to which post was also attached that of master of the Free Grammar School. These combined schools had a regular enrollment of between forty and fifty youths before Castley arrived, but circumstances changed when he began "exacting exorbitant fees as entering money of such Schollars as he found in the said School, and of all who afterwards sent their Sons thereto ...." Unhappily, "several Parents being unable to comply with such exactions were obliged to withdraw the Sons from the said School and others never to send them there."[37] But those who remained in Castley's care were described as being "in a state of ignorance and a discredit to the state." He had succeeded, by his illegal actions, of suppressing any effective education at the island's leading educational centre, or, as the petitioners put it, of "stilling the birth and growth of learning and education." Worse still was his treatment of the youths in attendance, making schooling "odious to his Schollars and all others who have the least share of Tenderness in their Breasts." The petitioners charged that Castley regularly struck the boys on the temple with a coiled rope, which had the effect of "levelling them to the ground with one stroke." He also made them hold a forefinger and thumb together, then struck the hand with a stave, with "force, violence and cruelty." He held others by the hair until it was ripped from the scalp, then threw the hair into the fire, forcing the youths to watch and calling them "Manx Boobies." So horrified were the parents that they thought Castley "not a fit person to be trusted with the care of youth." Perhaps they were correct: enrollment at the school plunged to only four or five scholars,[38] and he was judged to be a "public Nuisance and

Grievance instead of a public blessing."

Tynwald appointed a commission of inquiry into the matter, to "preserve the rights of the publick," and within a short time Castley's salary was halved from £60 to £30. He replied with a law suit, aided by Bishop Hildesley's protection. The matter dragged on until 1783, when Castley filed a bill in the Court of Chancery, asking for his correct salary, plus arrears. A court decision in 1782, headed by Governor Dawson, had already awarded him this, but the trustees were not satisfied, and petitioned the Court of St. James and the Lords of the Committee of Council for Hearing Appeals from the Plantations.[39] Eventually, Castley prevailed and remained master of his depleted school until 1807, when he resigned. Interestingly, his successors, the Rev. Joseph Brown and the Rev. Thomas Thimbleby, were given salaries of £160 and £280 respectively for the same dual position.[40] These were more than cost of living adjustments for 1807 and 1818, and one must conclude that the increases were meant to act as a discouragement for illegal fees being imposed upon the parents of entering scholars.

The conclusions to be drawn from the Castley episode show a number of things: an English cleric, appointed by English trustees and sanctioned by an English bishop caused the island's premier establishment of learning to be reduced to ten percent of its usual enrollment. Greed and brutality were part of this cleric's stock-in-trade, and he was firm in his position, defying parents, trustees and Tynwald to remove him. John Shimmin, meanwhile, had been barred from teaching at the same time for merely writing an inappropriate phrase in a petition, despite the pleas of parents that he be retained. But Shimmin did not have the backing of the bishop -- and he was a humble native earning but ten-percent of Castley's salary. The people, in both cases, had been refused their wishes, and education had suffered in the process, at both the common petty and prestigious secondary levels.

British Government-Policy, Methodism and the Lower Orders

During the period of Imperial rule, 1765-1793, British officials governed with little concern for the welfare of the Manx. The Manx Church, at the same time, moved into a noticeable decline, paralleling governmental laxity on the island. British governors often appeared to be hostile to the Manx, as evidenced by the actions of Governor Edward Smith, who, when presented with the proposal for enlarging the Mathematical School in Peel, replied that it was no advantage to England to educate Manx beggars for service in the British Navy, when common, uneducated sailors were wanted. The education of Manx youths by philanthropic means was of little consequence to him, but, if education was to be had, then, he opined the Manx ought to pay for it themselves, and not the English.[41]

Dawson's feelings about "Manx beggars' were no more than a mirror of the official Imperial attitude to Man in the three decades following Revestment. Although the island's status had changed from that of a "foreign country" to that of a "possession" of the Crown, its privileges were not suddenly altered for the better. The Manx, like the Irish, were subjected to a short-sighted and oppressive commercial system. Products which might compete with those of the mainland were prohibited or heavily taxed; manufactured goods were only to be imported from Great Britain and nowhere else; raw material only was to be channelled to Britain in British ships; the license system of limited importation restricted the importation of spirits, tea, tobacco, sugar, coffee and salt, by authority of the Board of Customs, London.[42] Here was the classic example of a mercantilist policy in action, with the mainland as the country to be favoured and Man as a client territory. Clearly, Man was not regarded as being fully a part of Great Britain, and was, with Ireland, in the position of being depressed because of the regulations. Free trade, proposed as early as 1711 to Westminister by the Manx, was nowhere in the offing, and the price of nearly a century of smuggling was now being paid. Monopolies of distribution resulted in the short supply of numerous commodities, with the resultant high prices causing resentment and impoverishment.

But if British regulation produced hardship in general, the picture was not entirely black in other ways. Domestic manufactures in Man were stimulated, to a certain extent, to counteract the strictures. The first cotton factory was started at Ballasalla in 1791, and in 1790, flax mills began operation, as did woollen mills, paper mills and breweries.[43] Shipbuilding and mining began to assume a new importance, along with the fishing, and smuggling (on a reduced scale) continued, ever a source of challenge and reward, despite the elaborate British precautions to stifle it. However, the depression of wages led to large emigrations from the island between 1765 and 1791, although the British had encouraged Tynwald to modernize the labour laws and delete such feudal measures as yarding from the statute books.

> Numbers of every description were forced to emigrate to other countries, and the Island seemed fast descending into that very miserable state of containing a few great landowners and ... their miserable dependents.44

The emigration of native Manx -- a feature of Manx life from the seventeenth century to the present day -- accelerated during the Imperial administration; this was ultimately to affect schooling and language, so that by the 1830's, the ethnic composition of the island was altered, the incoming English forming a strong, new social and linguistic stratum within Manx society.

A Commission of Inquiry, in 1791, conducted an exhaustive socio-economic survey of the whole island, in an attempt to seek some redress to the maladministration which the island had received since Revestment. Nothing was overlooked in this examination, and much remediation was recommended, from the provision of harbours and lighthouses, to the statitoning of armed revenue cutters and cruisers around the coast. Schooling, however, was left untouched by the Inquiry, and formed no part of any recommendation to Westminster, which was not suprising, since government intervention in education was unthinkable at this time. The Commission also investigated the claim of the 4th Duke of Atholl, who sought greater compensation for the loss of his hereditary rights. To placate him, he was appointed governor in Man, 1793. The restored Atholl rule ushered in a period of somewhat greater prosperity, associated as it was with the presence of large numbers of British troops, officials and visitors.

This situation continued throughout the Napoleonic Wars. Wages rose until 1816, as they generally did on the mainland,[45] agriculture proving to be invigorated by British protection and British farmers, who used new techniques on their model farms.

Quite clearly, the island was fully within the yoke of British control and was drawn into the mainstream of political, religious and economic thought and action. With the increase of regularized communication with the mainland (Government mails sailed regularly each week to Liverpool and Whitehaven), a development occurred which was to change the religious and educational tone of the island until this century: this was the advent of Methodism.

The general lack of respect for the Manx Church and its loosened hand upon the populace opened the door for Methodism, and the Imperial administration allowed the door to remain open without fear of re-enactments of Anglican persecution, as had previously been the case in Man, when dissent was introduced to the island.

The first Methodist preacher on the island had been the "weeping prophet," John Merlin, in 1758, who declared the Manx to be mere smugglers, and left, disgusted.[46] Next came John Crook, from Liverpool, in the 1770's. He was met with violence from a Douglas mob, urged on by the anti-Methodist, Bishop Richmond. Both preachers encountered the language difficulty in reaching the common people, and the situation was much the same when John Wesley himself visited the island in 1771 and 1781. His congregations were large, and, sometimes speaking with an interpreter, he achieved success in his evangelical mission. Exactly why he did so is a matter of conjecture; E.P. Thompson has pointed out that religious revivalism only stirred when temporal aspirations had met with defeat, and this may well have been the case in Man: a "chiliasm of despair" for Manx freedom and societal betterment (when neglect by the British had caused increased beggary, poverty and emigration) may have been present. At any rate, Wesley had twenty-two preachers in Man by 1781 and commented: "I never saw in England so many stout, well-looking preachers together. If their spirit be answerable to their look, I know not what can stand before them."[47] He also observed:

> Having now visited the island round, east, south, north and west, I was thoroughly convinced that we have no such circuit as this, either in England, Scotland or Ireland. It is shut up from the world, and, having little trade, is visited scarcely by any strangers. Here are no Papists, no Dissenters of any kind, no Calvinists, no disputes. Here is no opposition 48

The Manx natives appeared to him to be plain, artless, simple people, unpolished, the greater part of them being moderately poor, with few rich or genteel families. The clergy spoke either Manx or English, and the strangers who settled, he noted, were men who had seen affliction -- an indication that numerous English debtors sought refuge in Man to escape English law, their liabilities, contracted on the mainland, being of no consequence in Man.

Concerning language and learning, Wesley wrote to George Holder, who wanted to publish a hymn book in Manx, in 1789:

> I exceedingly disapprove of your publishing anything in the Manx language. On the contrary, we should do everything in our power to abolish it from the earth, and persuade every member of our Society to learn and talk English.49

Here indeed was something to gladden the hearts of those who espoused anglicization, and it may have had the effect of winning adherents to Methodism, who certainly increased in number quite swiftly: 53 adherents in 1775, 2,575 in 1785 and 3,400 in 1800.[50] This latter figure represents approximately ten percent of the population, a percentage which increased with the arrival of Primitive Methodism in 1823. But despite Wesley's dislike of the Manx language, a hymn book, (in Manx) was printed in 1795, an event which was part of the outpouring of religious verse in the shape of the Carvals, which became the only kind of original literature in the Manx language.

Irreligion, looseness, poverty and drunkenness were social circumstances which paralleled those in England during this era, circumstances which were ripe for challenging the Methodist reforming zeal. The Manx circuit prospered accordingly, at the expense of the Anglicans, despite the fact that John Feltham thought the Manx clergy a respectable body of men with a good classical education, who catered to their flocks with services in Manx, Manx and English, or English, "as the situation and circumstance demand."[51] Feltham also noted in 1798 that the Methodists had three travelling preachers, sixty Manx preachers and fifteen meeting houses, a considerable network of support across the island.

Relations between the two religious groups were outwardly amicable, especially until 1814, when the Church was weak, but this was not to be the case later in the nineteenth century, when the two respective church educational societies grew in number in Man, and moved into a situation of mutual suspicion concerning the education of the lower orders.

The period to 1814, then, saw the Church generally lax and without its old power and prestige, while the Methodists and the few but influential Evangelicals within the Anglican Church were vigorous. At the same time, political events were having a dampening effect upon reform movements in England, and this spilled over into Man.

The fear of Jacobinism, as a result of the French Revolution, and the moves of the conservative, landed classes against radicalism and democratic ideas, were very much a part of the Manx scene, although Tynwald, in its emasculated form, passed no repressive measures, like Pitt's Combination Laws. The Manx government was autocratic, but benign. Manx custom revenues proved to be lucrative for the Treasury, large surpluses accruing since 1796, and this from an island without an annual budget or resources for development.[52] It was an ad hoc form of government which was present, but since it produced good revenues for the Treasury, change was not wanted by the English. In the period under question, laissez faire was the order of the day. This was applicable to government as well as to the Anglican Church, which controlled education in the island. And educationally, matters were in decline. The hand of the Church was growing weaker.

If the Manx Church, however, had failed in its old role as social confirmer of the Manx poor and guardian of the peace, then the increasing lower orders had to be educated to know their rightful place afresh, and to be preserved from the ills of reform and democracy. Elementary education was accordingly examined with new socio-political intent; new measures were at hand, in England and Isle of Man.

The nascent Manx newspapers of the era provide insight into the minds of those who voiced their concern over the condition of the lower orders. The writers tended to be the anglicized Manx or Englishmen, of the gentry-artisan-merchant group, who let it be known that the "Manks peasantry" possessed criminal, drunken and idle tendencies because of their "extreme ignorance" and unlettered state, and because of their barbaric and offensive language -- by now a mixture of broken English and corrupt Gaelic.

> Their ignorance of letters is so gross, in many parts of the country, that not one person out of a hundred has the least acquaintance with the art of writing and few are able to decipher the contents of a book. The effect which this total want of learning has on the manners and morals of the people is truly deplorable.53

Presumably, even Methodism, the religion of the poor, had failed in its moral rescue of the Manx peasant; he was regarded as being excluded from the fruits of practical knowledge in agriculture, and of retarding the prosperity of the island, while the newly-arriving Scots and English farmers, with their new agricultural ways, were changing the face of the country for the better. "An industrious, frugal and well-taught peasantry would be a national blessing," thought many,[54] but this could not be effected by the parochial school system by itself, many of the schools being in a lamentable condition, with teachers pitifully paid. Teachers for some, seemed to be the answer:

> It is to the enlightened exertions of those who have ability and inclination to promote the interest of the Island that we must look for the improvement of our parochial schools, and the advancement of learning amongst the children of our peasantry.55

The picture in schooling at this point, however is one of confusion, Obviously the parish schools were not accomplishing their traditional goals to the satisfaction of the emerging middle classes, yet the schools were operating, albeit perhaps in a questionable fashion as regards housing, teachers and weight of numbers -- in those schools which managed to remain open. The numbers in attendance, as evidenced by Ballaugh's situation, would militate against any effective instruction in anything, a ratio of 100 to 1 being disheartening for even the most accomplished and dedicated teacher.

How many schools were in this condition? Were schools functioning with "qualified" personnel? How many had indeed decayed and closed, either temporarily or permanently, through lack of funds, lack of interest or lack of a master? The records, unfortunately, are incomplete for this period, a further indication of Church laxity, since church records in general were improperly kept in numerous parishes.

If, however, the parochial schools of 1808 were anything like those observed by Feltham in 1798 (with Ballaugh's containing "upwards of one hundred scholars") then not all of them were ill-attended.[56] Schoolmasters, it would seem, were not plentiful, and women were sought to fill the gap: two advertisements for parish petty school mistresses for Kirk Rushen prove that sober and discreet ladies were being sought who could teach reading, sewing and knitting, (the salary being £18 per year) with a teacherage to boot, in which the teacher taught and lived. Clearly, some parishes were attempting to keep the system going by appealing to females.[57]

Writing formed no part of these teaching duties: this skill had been an "extra" from the seventeenth century, and was not a common acquisition even among Manx officials (e.g., churchwardens) who made their mark instead of a signature upon documents well into the nineteenth century.[58]

Concern about the need for religion in conjunction with proper instruction in reading is also brought to light through the fear of the increase in crime. One writer in the Manks Advertiser ascribed the phenomenon to the want of early provision in reading and a total ignorance of religion by the lower orders: "Let the people be educated and I will venture to assert that in the course of thirty years at most, there will be not one fourth of the crimes which are now committed."[59]

Sunday schools proved to be part of the answer; here was an old concept, rejuvenated by Robert Raikes in Gloucester, 1780, and multiplied throughout the mainland by 1800. True, it was active social intervention by one class for another, with definite aims of stilling any thought of revolt against the social order, of promoting self-improvement and respectability, together with the reinforcement of divine ordination of fixed stations in life. And, as the agent of the middle class, who desired to see a quiescent and obedient working class, the Sunday school was well-placed to follow the Lockean psychology that children were rational and educable beings. With Methodism and utilitarianism constituting the dominant ideologies of the times, the rise of evangelical religion gave further impetus to the moulding of the rising generation of the poor, the child's will being viewed as the key to self-governance. Thus, organized, the Sunday school saw to the spiritual, moral and literary needs of those who stood in need of its ministrations, and this was every bit as important in Man as in England.

The middle class Evangelicals in Man were, like their English counterparts, in the mainstream of organized philanthropy, and were successors to those who had founded charity schools a century earlier -- and for much the same reasons.[61] The idea of the moral rescue of the children of the poor rang as true for them in Man as anywhere else. Sunday Schooling may have been a poorer exchange for the failing parochial schools but it did seek to provide some form of enlightenment for neglected groups of society.

As Thomas Lacqueur notes, by the year 1800, Anglican Evangelicalism probably saw some 300-500 clergymen well-placed throughout England, ready to encourage the kind of religious activity which resulted in the founding of Sunday schools,[62] and the Rev. Hugh Stowell was the leading examplar of the breed in the Isle of Man. At his insistence, the first Sunday school was founded at Lonan, 1803, followed by more in Douglas. As the Manks Advertiser noted in 1808:

> Two Sunday Schools have been lately instituted in this town (Douglas) which promise the most salutary effect by affording youth an opportunity to receiving moral and religious instruction and restraining them from profaning the Sabbath .... Upwards of 200 children have already been admitted into these schools.63

The labouring Manx poor were schooled in the habits of virtue, initially by the "better" class of people, i.e., the benevolent gentlewomen who freely gave their services, such duty being regarded as a laudable undertaking for the good of fellow creatures and of Manx society in general. Parents were reminded by Stowell, in 1810, to send their children punctually to school and in a clean condition. They were urged to enforce the observance of school rules, never suffering them to be absent "one hour from the school without sufficient reason," a good example being expected from parents in the fearing of God, the keeping of commandments and the abhorence of evil and drunkenness. The Scriptures were supposed to be read aloud by the child and parents nightly -- assuming that literacy in English or Manx was sufficient, and the message was clear: moral rescue was at hand through the greater devotion to duty as prescribed in the Bible.[64]

The learning of letters took place in a no-nonsense fashion. Theology was mixed with reading, as it had been for the Manx abecedarians in the past, with such passages as: "A is for Angel, who praises the Lord, B is for Bible, His most Holy word," down through Church, Devil, Eternity, Faith, God, Heaven, etc. The letters were traced in sand trays for initial practice, then came the "easy readers" class, then the New and Old Testaments.[65]

Sunday schools increased in the island as the Methodists followed Stowell's example, and there was an ample supply of lay persons willing to lend their services in every village, often making for a teaching ratio of 2:1 or better.[66] Stowell preached his message constantly, his anniversary sermon of 1813, in St. George's Chapel, Douglas, providing a good example of what the movement in Man was becoming:

> Nothing conduces more to the peace and comfort of society than the religious instruction of the rising generation of the poor. This is the only effectual expedient for civilizing the lower orders of the community, and rendering them good relatives, good citizens and good neighbours.67

In appealing to the philanthropic nature of his Anglican, well-to-do congregation, he stressed the reforming aspect of Sunday schooling, the indebtedness of the emergent, dutiful child and faithful servant to their benefactors, and of the grateful parents, "without power" and the means to provide their off-spring with a "useful and religious education." He was, however, quick to allay any fears concerning education beyond ordained stations (an aspect of contention in charity schooling since 1700), assuring the Anglo-Manx wealthy that the education provided was simple, humble and pious -- and one of confirmation:

> It is by no means intended to raise the children above that state of life in which it hath pleased the good Providence of God to place them, but to teach them the duties of that state, and furnish them with the most powerful motives to the discharge of those duties.68

A poor child, who would have been a nuisance to society for want of such instruction, was transformed into a useful servant, a comfort to his parents and an ornament to his religion, and all because of the compassion shown by his betters. Such appeal to the improvement and sanctity of society by the assurance of a resigned and grateful class of poor, educated to be diligent in labour, respectful to betters and morally upright, had been heard a century earlier, but, after the American and French upheavals, a new urgency was evident. Religion, it has been argued, saved the British from the "contagion" of revolution experienced elsewhere;[69] perhaps it did, and certainly the cause of anti-Jacobinism was well-served by the ingraining of subordination and duty. This formed a powerful personal ethic for those subjected to the regimen. It was little wonder, then, that Stowell urged those with vested interests to pay particular attention to the religious education of the poor above all things, since obedience, humility and resignation were necessary objectives in Manx life, given the disturbing Jacobin trend of the times.

The Manx Methodists, like the Evangelicals around Stowell, also preached the same message of morality and duty, acceptance and piety, with the added injunction of Wesley that the Manx language should be shown no preference whatsoever.

But something else was needed, apart from a once-a-week session of compressed preventive measures, in order to equip the poor with the means to serve Great Britain and Man in the industrial climate of the times. The utilitarian aspects of education, a corollary of growing capitalism, were subsequently found in the Lancasterian charity school movement, a movement which softened the moral rescue of the Evangelicals by means of the provision of basic education on a large scale, in emulation of the growing factory ethic of production. Such a form of education had been recommended by no less an economic liberal than Adam Smith, who felt that the most essential parts of education (reading, writing and accounting) could be given to even those destined for the lowest occupations, and that for a very small expense, rudimentary learning could be imposed upon the people (with geometry and mechanics added to the 3 R's, in deference to increasing industrialization). Interestingly, the reference (which Smith makes to the Scottish parochial schools in his Wealth of Nations and which were a better medium of literacy-provision than the English charity schools) may be paralleled with the Manx endeavour in schooling to approximately the time of the appearance of the book, (1776), but hardly beyond it.[70]

Lancasterian Schooling, Academies and Enterprise 1810-1820

At the request of the Manx middle class in Douglas, the Lancasterian Society (formed 1808) extended its operations to the Isle of Man in 1810, and bestowed upon the Manx a new form of education -- the monitorial or "mutual" system -- which was to endure in the island for more than fifty years. Monitorialism, together with the Sunday schools and the burdened and troubled parochial school system, formed a tripartite scheme of Anglo-Manx education which carried the island through a new stage of demographic movement and linguistic-cultural change. Its part in preparing the lower orders for inclusion in an enlarging Anglo-world must not be underestimated.

The first Lancasterian school in Man opened in Atholl Street, Douglas, with the master imported from England. The site was donated by John Moore and his wife, Eunice, for the "establishing of a Sunday and Day Free School to be conducted on Mr. Joseph Lancaster's plan," in return for a ground rent of one shilling annually. Twelve poor children were to attend without charge forever, the costs being borne by the benefactors and their heirs.[71] And as early as the summer of 1810, Stowell was extolling the virtue of the new venture in the most glowing of terms:

> The proficiency of the Children in their learning is at least ten times greater than that which is generally made at the public Schools in the same space of time, and the improvement in their manners is still more apparent.72

Stowell was impressed with the orderliness and business-like fashion of the school, and he urged all members of the better classes to visit it and view the "extensive utility" of the system, declaring that there were few exhibitions which gave higher satisfaction than the exhibition afforded of the extraordinary sagacity of the human mind and the rapid improvement of the species.[73] Indeed, the second annual report of the Lancasterian school in Douglas (1811) is an important document in the development of mass education for the "rising generation of the poor." The school comprised 165 boys and 102 girls, of whom (in one year), 51 boys were taught to read the Scriptures; 114 boys, who were "wholly ignorant of the art of writing at their admission into the school," could write in a "tolerably good hand;" 60 boys learned the fundamentals of arithmetic, and, presumably, the girls were given the same opportunities for literacy and numeracy. Of greater social importance, perhaps, was the notice that children leaving the school went into menial service around the island, proving themselves to be "respectful, diligent and faithful." The streets had been made safer by the general deportment of the "lower class of children" around Douglas, the town being plagued, prior to the opening of the school, by "rude, insolent, and savagely unmannered" youngsters.[74] Indeed, the editorial in the Manks Advertiser of August 15, 1810, confirms this change in behaviour:

> Prior to the establishment of the Lancasterian School, the rude and immoral conduct of the many boys through the town (none the objects of charity) was truly disgraceful; strangers as well as natives could not escape their annoyance; and we have often witnessed in the streets ... females assaulted by a race of juvenile desperadoes![75]

The instruction in religion for the 267 recipients of Christian charity purportedly resulted in the occurrence of nightly readings aloud to parents of the "glad tidings of salvation," presenting a scene which angels would have beheld with approbation. Such was the effect of the new system upon the Douglas rising poor.

The Lancasterian movement had much support among the wealthy, and with Methodists and Evangelicals; its reception in Man was overwhelmingly favourable for the reformation of the poor in attitude and behaviour. These groups reaped the benefit in an economy which was on the up-swing, an economy which attracted enterprising English individuals to it in increasing numbers. As a corollary of such buoyancy, alternatives to the existing insular grammar schools began to appear on the island, in order that a more selective form of education could be given to those with the desire and the means.

The influx of English half-pay officers and their families, and English immigrants, wanting economic opportunity or escape from debt, began at this time. The attractions, were the freedom from taxation and the comparatively low cost of living.[76] Ethnic and linguistic balances were being affected by this flow of middle class English people to Britain's newest backdoor colony, and it was this influential immigrant group, in conjunction with Manxmen returning from service with the British Army and Navy after 1815 (some 4,000), all of whom had doubtless learned the value of speaking English), which was to cause the onset of major changes culturally for Man. Accordingly, the lack of understanding of the vernacular on their part, the lack of sufficient suitable educational establishments for their children and their desire to retain all the familiar aspects of English culture had the effect of spawning numerous private venture schools of the type long since found in England.

The newspapers of the day provide the most revealing quide as to the various kinds of private schools and "academies" of the period. The Isle of Man had indeed been slow in making available private schooling for the middle classes, since no middle class of subsequence had really existed until the post 1790 era. Douglas and Castletown, the largest centres of English influence, saw the private schools created almost overnight in old Georgian houses. Typical, perhaps, of these establishments, and their often short-lived operation, was the Rimmer school, a husband and wife enterprise started by an English couple in the front room of a house in Douglas, in January 1808. Twenty pupils were taught various accomplishments, and, with the increasing demand by the clientele in the town, the school increased in size to forty. The Rimmers subsequently hired an assistant, and decamped to the Mansion House, Ballabrooie, on the outskirts of Douglas. Mrs. Rimmer then opened a second school for young ladies (the first having become residential for gentlemen) in another Douglas house, and was assisted by a governess.[77] The fate of the Rimmer schools is unknown, but they obvious fulfilled a desired need, as their increase in size witnessed.

As to the subjects taught in such schools, advertisements provide insight. In October of 1810, a Mr. Broadfoot opened an academy in the house of John Kewley, offering to teach surveying, engineering and architecture, in addition to navigation,[78] while the Heywood House Boarding and Day School, at 40 guineas per annum, offered the following curriculum and advantages for consideration:

- Insular education under the eye of the parent, with no channel crossing dangers (parents could witness the child's study)
- Pupils always accompanied by masters into town or country
- No improper connections with townspeople
- Sea bathing (weather and seasons permitting)
- Currency returned to the island's economy
- Dead languages studied from morning until night, the useful branches being considered "of no importance"
- The child to be fitted for university, counting house, army or navy.79

The "Douglas Grammar School for Young Gentlemen" opened in Duke Street by a Mr. Whyte, in January 1814, and more establishments followed, all of a similar nature, announcing themselves to the genteel, English-speaking residents. Castletown had its share of "academies," schools for gentlefolk and the like: the Castletown Green School for Young Ladies, for instance, instructed its pupils in English, history, biography, composition, grammar, geography, writing, arithmetic -- and plain and fancy work.[80] These schools certainly went beyond the bounds of the grammar school in their offerings of subjects and social assurances, and indeed formed the front rank of a growing genus of establishments in Man, all designed to attract the middle class parent who was desirous of something other than that which was offered traditionally. In providing a host of accomplishments to be attained under the close scrutiny of owner-operators, they emulated the dissenter academies and proprietary schools of England, set up in opposition to the grammar schools and catering to the more practicallyminded off-spring of the rising bourgeoisie. The parochial schools, meanwhile, continued to suffer from the abuses of the past.

Parochial schoolmasters were helped somewhat in their financial plight by a statute of 1813, which updated the regulation of quarterage fees set in 1704. They were allowed, over and above their salaries, the sum of 2s 11d for every scholar taught to read English, and 3s 6d for every scholar taught to read and write.[81] But this did not sufficiently alleviate the economic hardships suffered by these teachers of the poor, and the newspapers displayed their plight in neglected and overcrowded schools. The rhetoric called for commiseration in their subsistence-level occupation:

> The present provision for the parochial schoolmasters in the majority of our parishes is altogether insufficient. Small is the compensation which the law requires for the parent to pay for the tuition of his child, yet it is generally paid with reluctance, and in a variety of instances, never paid at all.82

In one of the most populated parishes on the island, the schoolmaster could not provide for his family, and had to resort to day-labouring. One such master praised the parish for being good to him in giving him fuel and herrings and in planting and harvesting a patch of potatoes, knowing of his hardships. His task in school was made more difficult, however, by his Methodist associations:

> Then the task of teaching them figures and writing, and the still greater labour of instructing them in the catechism, to which I am so strictly enjoined by the minister of the parish .... This above all is a task most grievous, for who loves to be called or desired a hypocrite?83

Such men were finding that an income of £25 - £30 per year was insufficient upon which to live, and this despite the halting recovery of the Church under Bishop George Murray, 1814-27, (nephew of the Duke of Atholl), who encouraged Sunday schools and urged his clergy to remind the people of the 1704 laws concerning school attendance.[84] It may have been the case that "the amelioration of society, the benedictions of the poor, the approbation of heaven, personal enjoyment and public advantage will mark the progress of their (the wealthy) labours,"[85] but the wealthy were not giving sufficient amounts to the parochial schools -- probably because the Sunday and Lancasterian institutions (now extended to Ramsey and Castletown by 1816) were seen to be having a salutary effect upon the lower orders. Even Harry Bullock, in 1816, commented upon this improvement: "The Lancasterian school has also been an essential publick benefit and a very visible improvement has taken place in the children of the poor since its institution."[86]

But if the parochial schoolmasters considered their occupation as being characterized by dull toil and poverty, the Manx poor (estimated in 1818 by Bishop Murray as being 638 -- probably the number receiving welfare from the parishes) themselves caused concern, since large numbers of children were unable to attend any form of school -- parish, Sunday or Lancasterian -- for want of clothing. The destitute condition of Manx children in daily and Sunday schools warranted disclosure in 1818; attention was drawn to the plight of the lower orders, a plight which was to worsen over the next two decades, with the Church causing further impoverishment by the exaction of tithes, irksome to all who were obliged pay, as George Woods observed in 1811.[87] It was a question of feudal obligation yet to be resolved.

But events on the mainland concerning the education of the poor were moving in the direction of tentative intervention, and Man, in a belated fashion, was to be included.

The advent of Lancasterian schools was not the only respect in which the mainland influenced educational development in Man at this time. Whitbread's Education Bill (introduced to Parliament in 1807) focused public attention on the education of the poor, and four years later, Anglicans founded the celebrated National Society, which was to play such an important role in the history of elementary education. By 1816, however, mounting national concern for the education of the poor had let the Tory Government in London to appoint a Select Parliamentary Committee to investigate the problem. The committee, chaired by the Whig reformer, Lord Brougham, began its work in 1816 and the survey in Man was conducted by Bishop Murray. When completed in 1818, the survey provided a valuable and comprehensive account of the educational situation in the island, on a parish-by-parish basis.

The survey revealed the state not only of parish schools, but of grammar, private and Sunday schools. The data to be drawn from this document (see Appendix E) shows that each of the eighteen parochial schools was well-attended -- some inundated -- with enrollments of between 40 to 150 pupils, with an average school enrollment of 83. Enrollment and attendance however, are not the same, and it is unknown as to what degree of attendance was affected by the Church authorities, or indeed, for how long a child was enrolled . Salaries for the schoolmasters/mistresses varied from between £4 - £7 annually, with 3s 6d quarterage fees in addition, making for an average school income of some £14 10s 0d per quarter in reading fees, if attendance and enrollment were constant (which was unlikely, especially during spring and autumn).

The four grammar/academic schools, with their seventeenth and eighteenth century foundations tabulated, were recorded (with Ramsey's) having terminated in 1803, through lack of funds from the English trustees). Three free English/Mathematical/Girls schools were also in operation. Nineteenth century foundations were as follows: 4 Lancasterian schools; 4 girls'day schools; unnumbered private schools operating in Douglas, Castletown and Ramsey, educating some 880 - 900 middle class clients; 44 Sunday schools, with 341 teachers and 3,447 scholars; and finally, a special school conducted by the Rev. Hugh Stowell, operating one day per week, in which 40 - 60 children were taught specifically in the Manx language, their parents being too poor to pay for the regular quarterage fees in the parochial schools (Stowell was helped by his family in this Manx-language charity scheme, proof that there was some provision made for educating poor Manx natives in their own tongue, albeit a small concession to linguistic rights).

In total, out of a population of approximately 40,000, Bishop Murray calculated that there were 1,722 children in attendance at 26 endowed schools (parochial, grammar, etc.) and 1,036 children in attendance at 16 unendowed day schools. Thus, some 42 day schools served 2,758 children, or 6.9 percent of the total population of the island -- 1 person in 14 as an approximate guide.

The private venture schools accounted for 31.9 percent of the total school population, while the Sunday school figures show that 8.6 percent of the total insular population was schooled one day in the week, representing 1 person in 11.

Since there is no evidence to doubt Murray's survey figures, they may be taken at face value, and presumed to be roughly accurate. Many of the schools and their enrollments may be verified from sources previously used in this study. The general picture which emerges as to the state of education in Man is an indication as to the development of

Manx society. Increasing numbers of Manx children were finding their way into the schools, although, as previously noted, the average lengths of time spent in them (years, months) and the nature of attendance (hours per week) are unknown. Also unknown is the general level of literacy of children emerging from the parochial, monitorial and Sunday schools, nor is it known what percentage of children were taught to write as well as to read, the latter skill masking literacy levels, since knowledge of reading could not be proved by writing. However, the insular bourgeoisie emerge as a substantial force in education for the first time, with some 32 percent of the total school population-enrollment attending private venture establishments. This indicates the degree of growth of the middle class, either from native Manx or Anglo-Manx economic achievement and elevation, or from the incidence of English migration to the island. Through this process of English emigration to Man in quest of a lower cost of living and Manx emigration to the English-speaking world (mainly England and North America) in quest of work, English had become the language of dominance, despite the lingering effects of Hildesley's vernacular crusade. By approximately 1825 -- the year of the largest Manx emigration to the United States, when 200 families left for Ohio -- a change had occurred in demography and linguistics which was irreversible, aided by the steady flight of native Manx from the island until the 1840's: English had taken over. Stowell's Ballaugh experiment may have been the last such oasis of Gaelic schooling in the island, and in any case, in the face of the overwhelming use of English, something had happened to the Manx Gaelic: according to Archibald Green, the author of Cregeen's Manx Dictionary (1835), Manx Gaelic had been so corrupted by "Anglicisms" that it was seldom spoken or written in its original purity. Indeed, George Borrow, writing in 1825, thought that with in sixty years, Manx would cease to be a spoken language.[88] He was not to be incorrect in his assumption.

Further evidence in this ethnic/linguistic shift is supplied by the SPCK: in March, 1815, the Society supplied the diocese with large supply of Bibles, Testaments, Prayer Books and Tracts in English -- enough to equip every parochial and charity school in the island. By 1825, Bishop Murray wrote to the Society stating that there was no longer any necessity for impressions of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer in the Manx tongue, since the English tongue was preferred, and the Bible and Prayer Book in English were sought after with great avidity.[89] Further, it must be remembered that, with the influx of middle class English settlers, to whom the Manx language meant little or nothing, those who served them in their houses or on their estates needed English language accomplishments, not Manx. The English felt no need to learn Manx, a language which was fast becoming the preserve of only the country districts in its debased form, the heritage of the rustic poor.

Clearly, the demise of the Manx language was well under way. The demographic, economic and schooling circumstances had combined with fashion and religion to form a combination of factors which the beseiged Gaelic found difficult to combat. Further developments were also in the offing for the island, as it prepared to enter the third decade of the nineteenth century, and these centred around steam, English visitors, the Church and schooling, the latter reflecting the societal trends of both the Manx and English worlds.

The blending of Man with England, which the Manx had long feared would happen since the sale of the island in 1765, was becoming a swift reality; its independence was truly a thing of the past.[90]

REFERENCES

[1] Wilkes' entry in his diary for April 19, 1755, states: "This day I also introduced Dr. Hildesley to Dr. Wilson ...." He also saw trustees Chalmondeley and Leigh on April 22, concerning the Academic Fund, and the Clothworkers' Guild secretary, Mr. Pollet, on June 3, concerning an addition to Peel School. In addition, Wilkes received power of attorney for receiving the Royal Bounty. One scholar from Man was given provision to study at Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin, 1761, with £35 allotted from the Academic Students' Fund; the scholar was obliged to return to the island after his studies, to enter the Manx Church. (see: Diary of Rev. James Wilkes, 1755 M.M. MS G 100; and The Isle of Man Charities (Liverpool: D. Marples, 1831), p. 37.

[2] **Rev. Weedon Butler,** Mark Hildesley: Memoirs (London: J. Nichols, 1799), p. 422.

[3] **Ibid.** "If you ask how they perform the service and preach in Manx, I believe chiefly by translating it from the English before them, which by habit and pains they have acquired a readiness in." (A.W. Moore, Diocesan Histories: Sodor and Man (London: SPCK, 1893), p. 219.

[4] **Butler,** Memoirs, p. 422.

[5] **Moore,** Sodor and Man, p. 219.

[6] **Ibid.,** pp. 218-9.

[7] **A.W. Moore,** A History of the Isle of Man 2 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900; reprint ed., Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust, 1977), vol. 2, p. 656. There were efforts to maintain the discipline during the Hildesley era, but contempt was replacing fear, best exemplified by the man who was performing penance for irreverent behaviour in church: he took the sheet off himself and "threw it, in a scoffing manner, on the summer's shoulders." (Moore, Sodor and Man, p. 235.)

[8] **David Craine,** "The Bible in Manx," IOMNHAS 5 (#5, April 1954 - March 1956: 1957): 547. According to contemporary witnesses, he always dismissed the congregation with blessings in Manx and read parts of the service in Manx also. "He could pronounce the Gaelic very intelligently, but with an English accent." (ibid.)

[9] **Rev. E.C. Paton,** "Bishop Hildesley," Ramsey Church Magazine vol. 1, #12 December 1896, p. 117.

[10] **Moore,** Sodor and Man, p. 237.

[11] **Ibid.,** pp. 237-8. Copies of the Manx psalms were sent around to all churches to be transcribed by the vicars. Hildesley was attempting to fit all use of English into a Manx setting, "for the instruction and comfort of such persons as do not understand the English language." (ibid., p. 237.)

[12] **Ibid.,** p. 238.

[13] Letter, January 19, 1700. Bishop Wilson to the SPCK, in: W.O.B. Allen and Edmund McClure, *Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* (London: SPCK, 1898), p. 81.

[14] Butler, *Memoirs*, p. 425-6. The Archbishop was fearful of the accuracy of the off-hand translations by the clergy, and proposed the careful translation of the Scriptures. He also contributed his £14 to the Manx Bible Translation Fund in 1762. (see: *Charities*, p. 54.)

[15] Ibid., p. 221. See also: *Charities*, pp. 51-54.

[16] Ibid., pp. 444-5; and Craine, "Bible," p. 547.

The teaching of the Manx orthography is something of a puzzle: English only was taught in the schools and the new Manx literature would not have been included in the school curriculum, petty or grammar. Where, then, did the populace learn [illegible] read Manx? The answer may lie with the clergy, who obviously welcomed it. They may have been instrumental is assisting their congregations with its familiarization, although no evidence to this effect is forthcoming.

[17] Butler, *Memoirs*, p. 450. Hildesley also wrote to Moore in the same letter, the following:

"If I were not fraught with full conviction of its (the translation of the Bible) utility, and with resolution to pursue my undertaking, what with the coolness of its reception by some, and the actual disapprobation of it by others, I should be so discouraged as to give it up." (ibid.)

[18] Ibid., p. 452.

[19] See: A.W. Moore, *Manx Worthies* (Douglas: S.K. Broadbent and Company Ltd., 1901; reprint ed., Manx Museum and National Trust, 1971), pp. 25-26 and 94-95. *Kelly's Manx Grammar* was completed in 1780, but not published until 1804. See also: Allen and McClure, *Two Hundred Years*, p. 206.

[20] Craine, "Bible," p. 554.

[21] The certificate was worded as follows:

"I do hereby certifie that, according to the Constitutions of 1703, I have visited the petty school of this parish, A.B. licences master/mistress. That the children under his/her care have been carefully taught, and do improve in learning and good manners; that they are taught their prayers and catechism and do duly attend the public service of the Church. Witness my hand, this __________ day of __________
C.B. Rector/Vicar of ______________" (Moore, *Sodor and Man*, p. 242.)

[22] See: Anne Harrison, "Myles Crowe the Smuggler," JMN 7 (#88 1976): 234-5.

[23] D. Kermode Parr, "Pages in the History of Manx Education," *Isle of Man Examiner*, May 24, 1929.

[24] At Kirk Andreas, 1757, the curate attempted to remedy the attendance problem. At Kirk Braddan, 1768, the trial period for the master is recorded. (ibid.)

[25] **Butler,** Memoirs, p. 81.

[26] **Wilkes,** Diary, 1755.

[27] See: Educational receipts, Sir George Moore and Family, Ballamoore. M.M. MS BH 4937 c. Board, lodging and washing, Greek, Latin, French, music and arithmetic cost £40 per year (1766); Master John Moore's quarterage fees were £10. By comparison, Miss Moore's fees cost only £6 6s 0d for two quarters and two months, in 1765. (See also: Neil Mathieson, "Sir George Moore and His Sons," IOMNHAS 5 (#2, April 1946 - March 1950): 144-168.)

[28] The presentments of the period are exemplified by the following:
"For neglecting to attend divine service."
"For not qualifying for confirmation."
"For not having an oiel verrey (Christmas Eve) service."
"For not attending to be examined in the principles of the Christian religion." Moore, Sodor and Man, p. 236.)

Between 1772 and 1814, church registers were neglected and convictions for drunkenness among the clergy were commonplace. (Moore, History, p. 667-8.)

[29] **Richard Townley,** A Journal Kept in the Isle of Man, 1791, quoted in Moore, History, p. 659.

[30] **Neil Mathieson,** "Ecclesiastical Courts in the Isle of Man," IOMNHAS 5 (#3, April 1950 - March 1952): 267.

[31] The Fish-tithe was reaffirmed by the Privy Council in 1769, and by Convocation, 1772. Manx fishermen were liable for payment, even though the fish might be sold "many leagues from the island." Tithes were sold at auctions island-wide from 1750 onwards; the tithes of Kirk Braddan were let for £31 5s 0d in 1750, and £200 in 1811. Jurby's tithes produced £20 in 1772, £138 in 1810 and £231 in 1811. (Moore, History, p. 660.)

[32] **Kermode Parr,** "Pages."

[33] **Ibid.**

[34] **Rev. John Clague,** Vicar of Kirk Rushen. Collection of MS, 1760-1890. Licence, p. 19, M.M. MS 669 A.

[35] **Ibid.,** pp. 86-89

[36] **Ibid.,** p. 197. The petition states:

"As he (Mr. C.) has hitherto been eminently successful in advancing and facilitating the progress of his little Charge in the general Departments of useful Literature and sound Morality, he flatters himself, from the continued smallness of ye number he proposes to take under his Care yt he will ever be enabled to pay such attention to their improvement as may give him credit and merit the real satisfaction of those who may in future patronise him."

[37] Petition to the House of Keys, 1763. M.M. MS 4283.

[38] This was still the case in 1775, according to the unknown author of "A Description of the Several Parishes of the Isle." M.M. MS 849 B. "Not withstanding this ample provision for a master, there are seldom above six scholars; ...." (ibid., p. 81)

[39] Court of St. James, April 30, 1783. M.M. MS BH 4834 c.

[40] See: Charities, p. 38; also pp. 29-31.

[41] Anne Harrison, "The Mathematical School, Peel," JMN 7 (#88 1976): 213.

[42] The licence system continued until 1844. Manx exports included horses, cattle, sheep, swine, coarse linens, sailcloth, potatoes, butter, hides, lead, zinc, ore, fresh and cured herrings and kelp. The chief imports were coal, salt, iron, tobacco, spirits, groceries and haberdashery. (Moore, History, p. 590.)

[43] The bounty system encouraged these industries, since they could be exported to England duty free. Linen and wollen cloths, nets, coarse hats, gloves and snuff were the major Manx manufactured exports. (ibid., pp. 551-651.)

[44] Commissioners' Report #83, Letter, Lt. Governor Shaw. M.M. MS F64 24x. Actual numbers are unknown, but Hildesley thought that more than a thousand departed after 1765 "for want of employment." (Butler, Memoirs, p. 225.)

[45] The stationing of British troops in the island stimulated the demand for agricultural produce and labour. By 1800, labourers were receiving 1s 0d per day or £6 6s 0d with keep -- the approximate stipend of a petty schoolmaster, who was still tied to the rates of remuneration set in 1704, both with quarterage fees and with the salary from the Royal Bounty and Impropriate Funds. Town labourers received 1s 8d. to 3s 0d per day by 1812, with farm labourers at £12 to £20. Masons, carpenters and quarriers received 2s to 3s 6d per day in 1812. (Moore, History, pp. 551-553.)

[46] James Rosser, The History of Methodism in the Isle of Man: With Some Account of the Island and of the Life and Labours of Bishop Wilson, in a Series of Letter Addressed to the Rev. George Marsden, (Douglas: Mary A. Quiggin, 1849), p. 47. The language difficulty in preaching was mentioned at this time. (p. 46.)

[47] John Wesley, The Journal of John Wesley, edited by P.L. Parker, with an introduction by Hugh Price Hughes (Chicago: Moody Press, undated), pp. 376-7. See also: E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 385-440. These pages cover the chapter entitled, "The Transforming Power of the Cross," which is of special interest concerning the Methodist success with the working classes. The years of the greatest recruitment were between 1790 and 1830 in England, and Man parallels to some extent these years of

conversion, the greatest amount being in 1798, when 4,847 were adherents, some 2,100 joining the church within one year. After this, the figures decline and hold steady at approximately 2,500 from 1803 to 1833, when they increase to 3,000, varying + or - 200 until circa 1850. (See: Rosser, Methodism, pp. 190-1.)

[48] **Wesley**, Journal, p. 377.

[49] J.I. **West**. "John Wesley in the Isle of Man," IOMNHAS 6 (#1, April 1956 - March 1958): p. 26.

[50] Rosser, Methodism, pp. 190-1.

[51] John **Feltham**, A Tour Through the Isle of Man in 1797 and 1798, edited, with notes by Rev. Robert Airey (Douglas: Manx Society, 1811), p. 89. He also observed the life-style of the poor:

> "The lower class of inhabitants live on meal of oats and barley and fish and potatoes, with a small portion of flesh meat. Their breakfast is of potatoes and fish, their supper pottage, or potatoes and milk. Their bread is made of barley and oatmeal, and is formed into very thin, round cakes like pancakes." (ibid., p. 164.)

[52] If Tynwald desired to raise revenue, a board for that purpose had to be established and given the power to raise revenue by rates. The system of boards thus became an established feature of the constitution.

[53] **Letter**, signed "Friend of Mann," Manks Advertiser, April 30, 1808.

[54] **Ibid.**

[55] **Ibid.**

[56] **Feltham**, Tour, pp. 145, 152, 169. While writing was an extra in these schools, it would have been difficult to have taught it to any proficiency with such numbers. Reading, under such circumstances would have fared little better, and may have been a tenous acquisition at best.

[57] Manks Advertiser, June 18, 1803, and March 9, 1811.

[58] **Anne Ashley**, "The Claims and Needs of Children in Traditional Manx Law and Custom," IOMNHAS 5 (#4, April 1953 - March 1954): 367.

[59] Manks Advertiser, June 6, 1812.

[60] For further discussion on the nature of Sunday schools, see: Thomas W. Laqueuer, Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780-1850 (New Haven: Yale University press, 1976) and E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1979).

[61] See: **Thompson**, English Working Class, Chapter 11.

[62] **Lacqueuer**, Religion and Respectability, p. 3.

[63] Manks Advertiser, May 28, 1808.

[64] **Rev. Hugh Stowell**, "An Address to the Parents of Children Taught in the Daily and Sunday Schools, Douglas," circa 1810. M.M. MS 454 7612.

[65] **Eve Chapman**, "200 Years of Sunday Schools," Manx life, September/October 1980, pp 50-51.

[66] This was especially the case in Lhen (23 teachers, 37 pupils), Barregarrow (36 teachers, 50 pupils) and Lambfell (20 teachers, 49 pupils). (ibid.)

[67] **Rev. Hugh Stowell**, Sermon Preached at St. George's Chapel Douglas, Sunday, July 25, 1813 (Douglas: G. Jefferson, 1813), p. 5.

[68] **Ibid.**, p. 11.

[69] See: **E. Halevy**, A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century, Vol 1: England in 1815, trans. E.I. Watkin and D.A. Barker, Intro. R.B. McCallum (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1970), pp. 424-427. To the question as to why England was most free from revolution and violent crises, Halevy stated:

> "The elite of the working class, the hard-working and capable bourgeois, had been imbued by the evangelical movement with a spirit from which the established order had nothing to fear.
>
> No doubt the English Nonconformists continued to oppose any movement towards bureaucracy. Without freedom of association they could not exist. But for all their freedom of theological difference the sects agreed among themselves and with the national authorities to impose on the nation a rigorous ethical conformity and at least an outward respect for the Christian social order. With their passion for liberty they united a devotion to order, and in the last resort, the latter predominated." (ibid., p. 425.)

See also: Thompson, English Working Class, pp. 385-440; and Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961).

[70] Smith states:

> "The public can facilitate this acquisition by establishing in every parish or district a little school, where children may be taught for a reward so small that even a common labourer may afford it, the master being partly, but wholly paid by the public .... In Scotland, the establishment of such parish schools has taught almost the whole common people to read, and a very great proportion of them to write and account." (Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations first pub. 1776, ed. R.M. Hutching, vol. 4: Of Systems of Political Economy (Chicago: Encyclopedia Inc.,) p. 342.

[71] **Indenture**, May 23, 1811. John Moore, Eunice Moore and local clergy. M.M. MS 5633 c.

[72] **Rev. Hugh Stowell**, "To The Committee of the Lancasterian School in the Town of Douglas," Manks Advertiser, July 7, 1810.

[73] **Ibid.** Under the Lancasterian arrangement for instruction, the central area was filled with rows of benches for writing drill, and the surrounding area was occupied by "drafts" of children standing for instruction by their monitor, usually with the aid of cards hung around the walls. A monitor, aged 10 and 11, had some ten children to instruct in units of work (3 R's plus needlework for the girls), to recommend for promotion and to keep order. Rewards of articles and money were part of the system and punishments were of humiliation -- but rarely of corporal punishment. The National system modified operations slightly. Both systems were allied in their desire to educate large numbers of children for religio-utilitarian purposes.

[74] **Carl Kaestle,** ed., Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement: A Documentary History (New York: Teachers College Press, 1973), pp 126-7; also: Manks Advertiser, Feb. 15, 1812. The report was prepared by the Rev. Joseph Qualtrough and Mr. Lewis Geneste, February 1, 1811.

[75] **Editorial,** Manks Advertiser, August 25, 1810.

[76] Especially after 1815, the half-pay officers flooded into Man, a place where living expenses were not as high as on the mainland. Freedom from prosecution for foreign debtors ended in 1814. After 1820, more officers and their families migrated to Man.

[77] See: Manks Advertiser, January 9, 1808; April 1, 1809; July 1, 1809; April 14, 1810; May 19 1810; June 16, 1810 and July 7, 1810.

[78] Manks Advertiser, October 3, 1812.

[79] **Ibid.,** March 17, 1816.

[80] **Pamphlet,** Manx Museum Library (undated).

[81] Statutes of the Isle of Man 17 vols. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1881; Douglas: Brown and Sons, 1886-1961), vol. 1, p. 363; and Charities, p. 69.

[82] Manks Advertiser, letter, December 17, 1814.

[83] **Ibid.,** January 28, 1815.

[84] In all this, he was assisted by the Rev. Hugh Stowell, Rector of Ballaugh. Murray started a Sunday School of his own, after hearing of the success achieved by them on the mainland. (Moore, Sodor and Man, p. 258.)

[85] Manx Advertiser, January 28, 1815.

[86] **H.A. Bullock,** History of the Isle of Man, with a Comparative View of the Past and Present State of Society and Manners (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1816), p. 210.

[87] **Editorial,** Manks Advertiser, February 19, 1818; and: George Woods, An Account of the Past and Present State of the Isle of Man (London: Robert Baldwin, 1811), p. 33. Poverty was not just confined to the petty schoolmasters; while the Academic master received £60 (as master of the Grammar School, Castletown) plus £100 (as master of the Academic School) in 1809, the master of the English Grammar School in Peel was receiving only £16 British, although he did have a house included with the position; his salary was raised to £25 in 1818. (Manks Advertiser, April 24, 1809.)

[88] **A.W. Moore,** "An Historical Sketch of the Manx language, with an Account of the Sources from which a Knowledge of it can be Acquired," Yn Lioar Manninagh (IOMNHAS) 1 (#1, March 1880 - 1892): 131.

[89] Manks Advertiser, March 11, 1815; and Charities, p. 55. The British and Foreign Bible Society established offices in Man in 1814, and the SPCK did the same in 1818.

[90] **Woods,** Account, p. 91.

CHAPTER V

FROM BROUGHAM TO NEWCASTLE: MANX SCHOOLING, ENGLISH INFLUENCES AND IMPERIAL INTERVENTION 1820 - 1860

Education in the 1820's and 1830's

Henry Brougham's inquiry into the education of the lower orders of London and of the British Isles (1816-19), which included the Isle of Man, prompted him to introduce a bill into Parliament in 1820, which inaugurated a period of dispute concerning the control and financing of education. Brougham's proposal was fourfold. He wished to construct a school wherever one was needed and to endow a mastership (to be paid for by taxation upon manufacturers, who contributed little to the poor rates, and by the gentry). He wanted to secure efficient schoolmasters of the Anglican faith only, and to moderate the curriculum according to the state of the parish. This included the showing of deference to nonconformists by permitting no Anglican dogma to be taught in school -- just the Lord's Prayer and the Scriptures (catechisms were to be taught on Sunday evenings), and to teach the 3 R's. He also wanted to reconstruct the old endowments to meet more modern needs. Brougham estimated the cost of such educational provision to be approximately £500,000 with £150,000 per year for its maintenance.[1] Unfortunately, the bill caused great alarm among dissenters, who believed that it was intended to compel the children of all sects to attend the Anglican Church. The bill was accordingly scuttled.

But what had caused Brougham to become so concerned about education was the discovery, via the inquiry, that only 1 in 16 persons was receiving any form of education in England, with Wales at 1 in 20 and Scotland at 1 in 9 (the Isle of Man was in the proportion of 1 in 14.5, excluding Sunday schools; as such, it was better than England and Wales, but worse than Scotland: see Appendix E). Lancashire, the county which was to become associated with the Isle of Man for the purpose of governmental inspection by H.M.I.'s, was in the position of having 1 in 24 placed in the way of education. But its rapid industrialization and the widespread use of child labour militated against the proper provision of education on any parish-style basis, such as existed in the Isle of Man. Brougham wanted to place the education of the poor on a more utilitarian, organized footing, much after the Scottish model, with religion forming a secondary feature of such education. However, the times were not conducive to the education of the poor with "Cowper-Temple" religion for all, and with rates and compulsion under-pinning the whole scheme. Religion, though, perhaps more than anything else, motivated the two largest societies -- the National and the British -- in their endeavours to educate. Certainly the former was strong in the conviction of basing education upon the tenets of the established faith, and the Bishop of London, writing in 1814, personified the thinking of his Church, (in its revived striving to maintain its traditional hold upon elementary education,) when he declared that "every populous village, unprovided with a National School, must be regarded as a stronghold abandoned to the enemy."[2] The enemy might indeed have been anything from Nonconformity to the Devil -- and Mrs. Trimmer is credited with having started the sectarian battle between Nonconformity and the Established Church in 1805, when she railed against the threat of Joseph Lancaster and his system of education in her Comparative View of the New Plan of Education. As the Edinburgh Review stated:

> The main object ... for which the book is written, is to prove that the church establishment is in danger, from the increase of Mr. Lancaster's institutions. Mr. Lancaster is ... a Quaker. As a Quaker, he says, I cannot teach your creeds; but I pledge myself not to teach my own. I pledge myself ... to confine myself to those points of Christianity in which all Christians agree.3

Mrs. Trimmer sounded the alarm at such an ideology. For her, and many like her, the child needed to be made a firm advocate of the Anglican Church; he needed to be dug around "on every side," with a trench to "guard him against every species of heresy."[4] And it was just this kind of entrenchment which the National Society hoped to bring in its educational wake. Since the Church represented the nation, the nation would have Anglican formularies imposed upon it wherever possible; orthodoxy demanded it, and the safety of the nation depended upon orthodoxy.

In the Isle of Man, meanwhile, the Lancasterians had been operating their schools since 1810, and the National Society eventually turned its attention to the island, which had been famous -- or infamous -- for its Anglican discipline in the previous century. Here indeed was an island whose flagging Anglican parochial schools needed support from the National system of education, to help educate Manx children in society and to counteract the nonconformism associated with the Lancasterian schools. Accordingly, the first National school of the variety perfected by Andrew Bell in England was brought into being in Castletown in 1820, a decade after its Lancasterian counterpart.

Of Voluntary and Private Enterprise

The rationale for the founding of the Castletown National School, which can be derived from the log book of the school, ~~which~~ notes that towards the close of 1819, several "respectable inhabitants" observed the lamentable state of the morals of the lower orders in the town and its environs. They were convinced that the moral laxity had arisen from a want of religious instruction, something which had obviously not been achieved by parochial or Sunday school, since the demoralization was found to be increasing.[5] The best way to stem the corruption, reasoned the seven Anglo-Manx Anglicans, was to provide for moral and religious instruction by means of a National school, "on the principle that a child trained up in the way he should go will not afterwards depart from it ...."[6] Observing the "admirable effects of the system in England and at Douglas, in the Island," (the Lancasterian monitorial school, which was akin in organization to the National system) they sought to raise subscriptions from the "better classes" in the area, in order to build the school. The Duke of Atholl graciously consented to act as patron of the school.

The SPCK provided its backing for the project by providing books at reduced rates: some fifty prayer books and a "set of cards" costing £1 11 0 were dispatched, while forms, desks, slates and a further batch of books were bought for the sum of £21 8 11. Following this came the search for an appropriate schoolmaster. From its advertisement in the insular press, in March of 1822,[7] it procured a Mr. Kewley, who was sent to Douglas to learn the intricacies of the monitorial system from the Lancasterian master there. Kewley returned after a few days, appropriately educated, and, armed with a Douglas monitor, commenced teaching. His charges were 128 Castletown boys, and, not surprisingly, the school was given the name the "Boys' National School." However, by 1823, it was thought prudent to include the opposite sex in the educational project of moral and religious reform, and the school increased to some 132 boys and 101 girls by the end of that year -- a total of 233 children under the hand and eye of Mr. Kewley, who frantically requested hundreds of pencils, tin badges, tin pencil cases, and slates, and coal for the running of the place.[8] "Irregularities" in attendance proved to be a problem for him, since the subscribers sought to compel as many children as possible to attend the school. Hundreds of copies of notices were distributed among the benefactors in the town, making them aware of truancy, and numerous expulsions for "habitual absences" resulted in 1825.[9] Presumably, such children were regarded as being "lost causes" and were barred from instruction, regardless of the circumstances surrounding their "habitual absence," which could have ranged from lack of adequate clothing, to helping the agricultural cycle. And of course, such children were prevented from receiving the benefits of what their middle class benefactors had originally intended -- moral improvement.

Such charity school children, as those who attended the above school, were, according to Middleton and Weitzmann, given a "religious gloss" in their schooling, but the middle class subscribers, upon whom the school depended for finance, looked to the master to "civilize" his charges, thus making them more amenable "labour fodder" for factory, estate or residence.[10] The master -- such as Mr. Kewley -- was the key to the whole program, and had first to be a disciplinarian in order to ensure success in the factory methods of instruction, i.e., the "processing" of the material, which was usually a dreary and dull process of chanting and mechanistic, rote drill. Successful educational attainment was a secondary consideration to the heavy indoctrination and obedience. Indeed, without regimentation and obedience being accepted as part of such schooling, given the massive numbers in the classroom, all would have been chaos and mayhem. The poorer Manx children now found themselves -- in the towns at least -- caught up in a new form of charity schooling by the two societies, every bit as much as their English counterparts were. This schooling sought to create something approaching an overall educational service for the lower orders, "pacification" mixed with station-confirmation and very basic literacy. Underlying the whole scheme was a rivalry between the two societies which rarely moved from the Trimmer-inspired suspicion concerning religion, however perfunctorily it may have been taught by master and monitors.

An important part of such charity-provision was the parade of the recipients before the benefactors -- a ritual which had taken place over a century previously, to the great joy of Joseph Addison, who declared that the order and decency of the little girls and boys parading in the Strand, clothed in the charity of their benefactors, was a "spectacle pleasing both to God and Man."[11] Little had changed with the passage of time. The occasion of the August, 1820 "anniversary exhibition of the charity school children" evoked the same sentiments in the Douglas bourgeoisie, as some two thousand children, two by two, "burst like a vision" in their sight:

> The orderly arrangement of the boys and girls, their cleanly and handsome appearance, the extreme promptitude and accuracy of their evolutions and the display of discipline which they evinced in their exercises could not fail to be particularly gratifying to the numerous spectators.12

The poetry and singing en masse confirmed the value of the charity bestowed upon the Manx lower orders: the children were being fashioned to accept specific roles in the island's society and were being rescued -- by the timely application of charity-education -- from the vices of the world. "It is no less than a system for the moral amelioration and external salvation of so many immortal souls," declared a Manx benefactor, "all destined by a kind of superintending Providence to perform certain uses in this world, previously to their removal to a better."[13]

The "artless simplicity and innocence of childhood," which the Manx charity children displayed, proved beneficial in the support of the Lancastrian, National parish and Sunday schools in Man, charity sermons preached specifically in aid of schooling being established practice around the island. Sums of £40-50 were regularly (annually) collected at St. George's Chapel, Douglas, in support of the Douglas Daily and Sunday School (Lancasterian), and the subscribers and friends were invited to attend a public examination of the children on the first day of school, following the anniversary appeal. The Rev. Benjamin Philpott, in 1827, constantly reminded the Douglas benefactors of the horrors which would result, should the school be forced to close:

> While the school is kept going ... an opportunity is offered of cultivating plants which would otherwise be useless, and reducing into order a very considerable portion of the population of the country, raising to usefulness and respectability those who would otherwise be a burden and a disgrace.[14]

Besides, argued Philpott, such schooling kept down the amount of paupers -- who were increasing alarmingly, and infesting town and country -- since the children were trained to be useful members of society, some two thousand having passed through the Douglas monitorial school alone since it opened its doors to the town's lower orders.[15]

Voluntaryism was indeed the order of the day, both in the daily and the Sunday schools; the process of supplying the "children of the poor with a Christian education and inculcating those diligent and industrious habits which the Christian doctrines are so well calculated to enforce." being so urgent, that it was even suggested that taxing every holder of a quarterland 2d. per month would form a permanent fund for supplying the children of the poor with shoes and clothing, pay the expenses of the Sunday school teachers, and render charity sermons a thing of the past.[16] Nothing, however, came of this proposed rate-levying and the burden of support for the education of the Manx poor remained with the middle class of the towns, the "trustees of the poor."

But if the children of the poor were being educated to know their place in Manx society by charitable means, private enterprise quickened as the numbers seeking independent academic schooling grew -- evidence of the enlargement of the Manx middle class through English immigration and native economic betterment, and at a more humble level, a number of more prosperous, ambitious workers. The Manx press, no longer limited to one main organ after the appearance of the Rising Sun in 1821, gives ample evidence of the trend.

The Smythe family, by way of illustration, advertised the enlargement and progression of their academic enterprise over the course of the 1820's, commencing with an evening school for both sexes (1823), expanding to a day school for young gentlemen (1826), then a boarding school for young ladies.[17] All kinds of literate and semi-literate people entered the private education business, from the likes of Robert Gorteen -- whose delicate state of health prevented him from following his usual occupation, but who thought teaching a few pupils in his house better than nothing -- to John Cain, who tacked a notice to a church gate, advertising his intentions in the following manner:

> On Munday the Tweleveth of January, I will with all care and diligence Teach & Begin to learn a few Schollars for writers ninepence a month and beginners sixpence a month and Entry six pence for both. Likewise night school three half pence a week and one candle. 10th January John Cain.18

Cain's clientele must have been, in all likelihood, the more ambitious of the lower orders. Even schools of industry, organized by well-meaning women of the middle class, found their way into the scheme of things, one being founded by a Mrs. Carpenter for training girls to become useful servants, in 1836. Expressly religious parents could avail themselves of such an academy as the Christ Church School (opened in 1834 at Eyreton), which boarded boys from eight to eighteen for a graduated fee of between £22 - £30, with half-yearly payments in advance. The operators guaranteed an education "on exclusively Christian principles."[19]

The parish petty schools, in the meantime, were having difficulty in finding suitable men to fill the post of parish schoolmaster, despite the increase in quarterage fees legislated in 1813. The state of these masters was of enough concern to James McCroac, Seneschal and Agent to the Crown, for him to endorse a petition for salary increases, which he duly forwarded to London. He was of the opinion that parochial teachers were a "most useful class of society, equal to or above the Parish Clergymen in Laying the foundation of good morals and instilling ... fitness for going forth into the world."[20] He recognized that teaching was a"toilsome occupation" with a small remuneration, and that it dissuaded any well-educated person from seeking such a position -- an indication of the calibre of person who did actually choose to subsist on £8 - £10 a year, and fair intimation that well-educated men shrank from receiving such a pittance, leaving the field open, perhaps, to men akin to John Cain. At any rate, the evidence in the press of that era suggests that parish teachers were indeed little better than beggars, having to take extra jobs to make ends meet (and neglecting their teaching duties in the process) and relying upon the goodwill of the parish for donations of food and fuel.[21] It was not an enviable profession for any self-respecting man or woman to take up, as John Quine pointed out in his novel, The Captain of the Parish. Lizzie Milvartin, aged 22,was considering becoming a schoolmistress -- a trade of sorts -- but concern was shown by her family at such a suggestion:

> "Still, the way it's looked down on is the objection I have myself." "It's looked down on -- aw, 'deed it is. You see, it's mostly lame ones and the like that keeps the schools that's in. I'm wondering myself that Juan Paddy hasn't took to it. But he's doing better on the houses, very likely."22

Beggary may well have been more attractive, as Quine's remark about the "houses" indicates. Incidentally, those who left the profession for any reason (such as J. Cowle, who taught at Bride parochial school for thirteen years, then accepted a job as Highways Overseer) had their licenses revoked by the Church,[23] an act of severance ordained by the bishop. (Exactly why such action was ordered is open to conjecture.)

There were now a number of women in the parochial schools during this era of the 1820's and 1830's: the Castletown National School (monitorial) operated under a master, Robert Kewley (previously mentioned) and his wife, Anne. Anne Kewley took charge of the girls and must have shown competence at the monitorial method of control and teaching for the school's benefactors to have allowed this husband-and-wife-team leave to operate. Girls' schools such as Catherine Halsall's School were taught by such veterans an Isabella Finnigan, a member of a well-known family of Castletown educators, who saw teaching as being quite a rewarding occupation for a woman, when faced with the possible alternatives of household service, seamstressing, etc.[24]

The general state of parochial schools is well delineated by records in this era (circa 1831), as is that of every Manx school backed by some kind of endowment, (see Appendix G). Parochial schoolmasters' salaries averaged around £8 - £9, with £5 10 0 being received from the Impropriate Fund, and £2 13 7 from the Hastings Charity. Some schools were in receipt of extra endowments, giving salaries a boost by another £1 - £5 (the lowest wage was £8 1 0, while the highest was £15 15 11).[25] Enrollments varied from six children in the tiny Vraney school, to 280 in the Douglas monitorial and 196 in the Castletown equivalent, while the average enrollment tended to fall between 30 and 60. According to the log books, attendance was not regular at a number of the schools. Such comments (from the Isle of Man Charities and Joseph Train's Historical and Statistical Records of the Isle of Man) as: "thirty, forty and sometimes fifty attend this school," or "about six scholars in winter and twenty in summer attend this school," or even "there are forty scholars on the roll, but the school is badly attended," show this. The observations reflect the seasonality of schooling, and perhaps the indifference of the average Manx family concerning basic literacy. Harvest time naturally took its toll -- as it still does -- in rural areas, such as Lezayre, where attendance dropped from forty to fifteen children on a cyclical basis; winter similarly saw numbers dwindle either through lack of adequate clothing, finances or difficulty of travel.

Obviously, the injunctions of 1703 were no longer applicable on a year-round basis, if applicable at all: fines were no longer levied against the parents of truants and habitual non-attenders, and the Church only urged parents to send their children to school -- it could not compel. Of marked contrast to the situation in the country is the condition of the town schools, with the monitorial institutions in Douglas and Castletown enrolling some five hundred children annually between them, the former having educated (or "processed") some 3,095 since 1810, with seasonality playing no great part in attendance fluctuations. What is of interest in this town/country disparity of attendance is the linguistic aspect of the population: significantly, the countryside was still the stronghold of the vernacular, although Gaelic was declining from its strength of the previous century. The country folk were tending to become more bilingual as the years passed, while the towns had long since been the primary centres of anglicization. But the older ways persisted in the remoter area of the island. Here, the Manx culture was perpetuated in preference to that of the intrusive English. This situation, however, was not to survive beyond the third quarter of the century, when the Manx tongue came only to be heard in isolated pockets of persistence, an anachronism of quaintness for English-speaking Manx and English tourists alike. Turning to the more senior educational establishments in Man, we find that, unhappily, all was not well at this time. Peel, in particular, was having trouble: its grammar school had slowly shrunk to where it accommodated only sixteen scholars, who were taught to "read and write English," while the Mathematical School became almost an empty derelict structure, with the roof half-off, the books and instruments in bad condition, and the whole of the establishment being generally in what was described as a "rapid state of decay."[26] There were only two scholars attending, neither on any foundation, and the master, Joseph Dodd (first hired in 1801) had driven away all scholars by his conduct. As James McCroac wrote to the House of Keys:

> It is the worst-conducted charity perhaps on the face of the earth -- that the master is a worthless drunkard and that tho' he has £40 and a free house, he has no scholars because in fact from his habits, he is unable to teach any ...."27

Dodd was finally dismissed in 1836, after three and a half decades in the position. The school remained at a low ebb until the 1860's. Drink, the diversion of many of the island's "better sort of people," as noted by George Waldron in the 1700's, did not exlude itself from the ranks of the more illustrious Manx educators, the "£40 and a free house" enabling the Scotsman Dodd to live without the fees of students, and to thereby retain his post until the school literally fell about his ears.[28] In the finest tradition of laissez faire, here indeed was a prime example of "empty walls without scholars and everything neglected but the receipt of the salaries and emoluments," as Lord Kenyon described grammar schools in England some thirty years prior to Dodd's dismissal. And the Peel trustees, observing no doubt, Lord Eldon's judgement concerning Leeds Grammar School in 1805, hesitated to interfere with tradition in any way, until the House of Keys finally demanded remediation. It was achieved barely in time.

The Religious Dimension:
Anglicanism and Methodism: Stress and Strain

The Anglican Church in Man was, during the course of increasing contact with the mainland, losing much respect among the Manx people. This occurred not only because of its miserly dealings with education in the parochial schools and its general laxity, but for its unashamed pursuit of tithes in the face of growing opposition from the lower ranks of Manx society, ranks which included growing numbers of Methodists, Independents and Roman Catholics. Pigot's Directory of 1824 noted that the Methodists were numerous and that it was a common practice for them to attend the Anglican Church during the day on Sunday and the meeting house in the evening.[29] Indeed, it was not unusual for the parish clerk to be a Wesleyan or Primitive Methodist preacher: Thomas Quirk, by way of example, held the joint offices of parish clerk, parish schoolmaster and Methodist preacher, with little complaint from anyone.[30]

However, amicable relations between the Anglicans and Methodists soured considerably with the anti-tithe riots of 1817 and 1825, when the "farmers and humbler classes rose to a man," to protest Bishop Murray's enforced tithing of potatoes, turnips and other green crops. They were successful for a while, and Murray left the island for good in 1827, a disappointed man. The Methodists used the situation to their advantage, according to a contemporary Manx Church cleric, and attracted many dissidents to their ranks as a consequence.[31]

The Anglican Church perhaps succeeded in alienating many more who did not choose to join the dissenters' ranks: their choice of an alternative was to quit the island for good. Emigration quickened itself in 1825 to the point where two hundred Manx families left for North America in that year alone, and the emigration continued until approximately 1840. The parish clergy, meanwhile, submitted a plea to the Bishop, William Ward, for discretion in the exaction of tithes.[32]

Cautioned that coercive measures to recover the disputed tithes would "inflict a wound on the Church of Mann which the lapse of a century would scarcely heal,"[33] the hierarchy under Bishop Ward (1827-38) decided, quite prudently, to desist from causing further grief and to try to seek another form of resolution. This came with the Manx (and Imperial) Tithe Commutation Act of 1839, whereby an annual sum of £5, 575 was to be levied in Man "to vary or fluctuate according to the average prices of corn," and was to be collected by an agent, thereby relieving the clergy from the odium of collecting it themselves.[34] Unfortunately, the allocation of money to the various departments of the Manx Church did not lessen the general dislike of the seemingly grasping attitude of the Church in the face of working class distress.

The Manx national poet, T.E. Brown, captured the contempt with which the working class Manxman in this era held the clergy. The Manx-English dialect which was shaping itself is used in the following excerpt from "The Pazons," (or parsons) the men who, with with their newly-found wealth of £141 8 0 per annum -- taken from the humble tenants and poor folk -- are made to appear as parasites in Manx society:

> What's the gud of these Pazons? They're the most despard rubbage go'n,'
> Reg'lar humbug they are. Show me a Pazon, show me a drone!
> Livin' on the fat of the land, livin' on the people's money
> The same's the drones is livin' on the beeses honey.
> Aw bless ye! the uses of them? not the smallest taste in the world, no!
> Grindin' down the honest workin' man, just so;
> Suckin' the blood of the poor and needy,
> And as greedy's greedy.
> See the tithes, see the fees, see the glebes and all;
> What's the call
> For the lek? and their wives, go'n a takin' for ladies
> and their childher go'n sendin' to College
> Like the fuss of the land.
>
> . . . .
>
> Shuperstition, just shuperstition, the whole kit,
> Most horrid, just popery, clane popery, that's it -

Aye, popery and schamin' and a lie and a delusion and snares
To get money out of the people, which is the Lord's and not theirs!
Money, money every turn,
Money, money - pay or burn!
And where does it come from? I said it before and I say it again,
Out of the sweat of the workin' man,
'Aw these priests! these Priest! these priests!
Down with them I say. The brute beasts
Has more sense till us, that's willin' to pay blackmail
To a set of rascals, to a pack of -- Good evenin', Pazon Gale!
Good evenin', sir, good evenin'! Step up, sir! Make room,
Make room for our respected Vicar 35

The unpopularity of the Anglican Church strengthened the hand of the Methodists, who disassociated themselves from the Church in 1836. They were now viewed with increasing favour among the Manx poor, and accordingly sought to be distinguished from the Anglican Church not only in their Sunday schools, (which had been the case for some time) but in their day schools as well, so that by 1848, barely a decade after the supposed resolution of the tithes question, there was a hardened separation between the two groups in respect of schooling -- a situation which had long since occurred on the mainland. The educational alarm first sounded by Mrs. Trimmer, as previously noted, in 1805, had taken its time about appearing in Man, where amicable relations between Anglican and Methodist had rarely been put to the test. Interestingly, language was now ceasing to be an educational issue in Man, the increasingly colonized and anglicized island, where, in 1840, the use of the Gaelic was noted as rapidly wearing out. Even the humbler classes were deemed to have imbibed the notion that it was a "vulgar thing to discourse in their native tongue" -- a "singular notion" most effective in banishing this very ancient language ... from off the face of the earth."[36] The issue which supplanted it was that of sectarianism.

Man was now fully in alignment with developments on the mainland concerning the suspicion and rivalry between the Anglicans and the whole gamut of Nonconformity in the matter of religion and schooling. This was to remain the case until past the end of the century.

With such rhetoric as that exhibited by the High Church Manx clergy, who described the Methodists' influence as "warping" and "dissentient" and "schism-causing,"[37] what co-operation there had been between them in schooling evaporated. While the Manx Church was in much disfavour with the poor, and 1836 was itself fighting off legislation from Canterbury and York to have the diocese joined with that of Carlisle, dissenter schools were becoming more commonplace. The Wesleyan Methodists could boast four daily schools by 1848, accommodating a total of 264 pupils and 4 teachers, while the Sunday schools numbered 36, incorporating some 2,864 pupils and 732 teachers.[38] In addition, there were Sunday schools for Roman Catholics, a group which also had its own day school in Douglas (the centre of Manx Catholicism) educating 103 children by 1847. Independents and Primitive Methodists, along with Baptists, also had their own Sunday schools by the above date. (see Appendix F)

The Manx Anglicans may well have waited for the coming of the effects of the Oxford Movement to the island in order to bring back the catholic doctrines and higher Church views associated with the phenomenon in an effort to combat the disturbing "evangelical" elements both within the Anglican Church, and outside it.[39] But it was in need, however, of more than the High Church movement or the economic charity of the mainland to sponsor church-building, to bolster its sagging image and its threatened traditional position as the mainstay of educational provision in the island, beset as it was by private venture, voluntary and dissenter schools. A new image was needed, and this it set about finding in its own way.

Financial aid came, in the usual fashion, from the mainland: the National Society and the Committee of Council in London both were enlisted to help what one observer called the "crippled condition" of the Anglican day and Sunday schools in the island. The Anglican faith needed once more to be entrenched, as Mrs. Trimmer had urged. It needed to be dug around to guard against heresy; Manx youth needed a fitting education, and the clergy extolled the virtues of their schools in unashamed terms:

> 'I enter our own schools at 9 in the morning. I see gathered there 150 boys and girls, clean in their persons, intelligent in their looks, uniform in their movements. I see them sitting with fixed eyes and folded arms, while the word of God is read and enforced -- 150 drinking in the word of life.40

Needless to say, the emphasis in such an education was directed at enforcing religiosity more than at developing individuals to the full; monitorial schooling, which the above clergymen was describing in 1850, was obliged through its very organization to regiment and rule, rather than to nourish and develop. However, before events of consequence in the educational realm in Man are explored any further, it would be prudent to examine the larger frame of reference in order to understand better the rationale for developments within the island during the second quarter of the century.

Continuing Anglicization to 1850: Settlement and Tourism

Several mainland-based or mainland-caused events and conflicts served to shape the most important aspects of Manx education in the 1825-50 time period. They were as follows: the influx of settlers and tourists from England on an ever-increasing scale; the escalating intervention of the British Government in Manx educational matters; and the developing dispute and debate between the Established Church and the dissenters, (from atheists and Chartists, to Methodists, Presbyterians and Catholics) concerning the nature of education, religion and reform. A further important factor was the establishment of an Anglican college/public school in Man, amid the pressure of private enterprise and general disenchantment with existing secondary school provision. Each of these in its way, had some ripples to make upon the Manx educational pond, and, affected the fabric of the island's culture. All combined to complicate Manx life, which was already plagued by tithe-instigated sectarian rifts, the growing effect of capitalist endeavour in the larger centres, and, lastly, the diversification of schooling along religious and class lines. All these factors can be said to have had their roots in the mainland and all changed Man's stance, as did one further event: the thrust for Manx political reform and self-government, a phenomenon which was not new in Man, but which received an added incentive after the 1832 Reform Act. This Act was to have an important bearing on Manx education during the entire Victorian era, as both the House of Keys and Westminster sought to control schooling as the century wore on.

With the increasing numbers of English and Scottish immigrants to the island, regularized contact with the mainland via Greenock, Whitehaven and Liverpool (expecially by ships of the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company -- Manx-owned, and founded in 1830, operating virtually without competition from 1837 onwards) saw the beginnings of what was to become a massive industry: tourism. By the mid-1830's, some 25,000 people were visiting the island annually; by 1851, this number had risen to over 40,000. These visitors came mainly from the north of England, and, thanks to the steam train and steamship, found the Isle of Man readily accessible from the large industrial cities where these middle class people made their money. The simple, relatively "undeveloped" atmosphere of the island drew them, and before too long, the working class of Lancashire discovered the island. For this latter group, the transportation revolution coupled with the advent of holidays during "Wakes Weeks" brought all textile workers in Lancashire within a few hours of Douglas. They had the holidays and they had the money, and both middle class and workers could find their differing pleasures in Man. According to their tastes, they botanized, studied marine biology, walked, investigated antiquities -- or just indulged themselves in food and drink, spending some £50,000 annually, while the five hundred or so half-pay officers and their families who called Man their home spent only £100,000 annually. Such was the impact of tourism in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign.

As the visitors came, the community responded to the need and alongside the traditional industries of farming, fishing, shipbuilding and light industry grew the support services for tourism. From the sixty lodging houses which advertised their enticements in the Manx guidebooks of the 1830's, the scene rapidly changed to hundreds of accommodation places in the major towns, all proclaiming the benefit of local sea-bathing, walking or botanizing, with a guinea per week being the average cost of room and board. Indeed, the conference trade was even encouraged as early as 1829, with the Grand Union of Operators and Spinners assembling in Ramsey.[41]

All this increasing visitation meant new employment opportunities for a substantial number of town-dwellers, with regard to building, transportation and service, not to mention the growing demand for local produce. This in turn affected schooling. First, the seasonal work meant that children found employment on an occasional basis and were tempted to forego the dullness of monitorial routine for the lucrative search for pennies from the English tourists. This was to be a recurring problem with town urchins until the turn of the century. Second, the more people who sought refuge in the relatively unspoilt island, the more some were determined to stay, either to seek employment away from the industrial blight of the north of England -- as described by Friedrich Engels in The Condition of the Working Class in 1844 or Charles Dickens in Hard Times -- or to become entrepreneurs in their own right. Consequently, the population climbed from 41,000 in 1831, at the commencement of the new industry, to 48,000 in 1841, and to 52,000 in 1851. (see Appendix F) Here was no natural growth rate, but a population swollen by emigration, the towns showing a larger proportion of increase compared with the countryside and the mainland. The following table illustrates the point:

		1792		1861	
Isle of Man	Country	20,676		31,846	
	Towns	7,237	(25.9%)	20,623	(39.3%)
		27,913		52,469	42

By 1861, Douglas' population alone had reached 12,5000 (the total insular population being 52,469) while the country population had reached its greatest height in 1851, with 34,933; this latter group subsequently diminished in size, especially in the northern districts. The towns assumed an importance -- previously borne by the country -- of having by far the greater numbers of the Manx population, by percentage, dwelling within them. Thus, by the middle of the century, a small-scale demographic revolution had occurred: despite the continued emigration of native Manx people, the growth rate of Man underwent unprecedented change, thanks to the emigration of middle and working class English people from the north of England, farming Scots and famine-escaping Irish, many of whom intermarried with the native Manx. The net result of the burgeoning population as regards education was a greater need for the effective provision of schooling for the working class Manx children (who by now might be somewhat less than one hundred percent Manx in lineage), with a view to providing for impending employment in the visitor industry, the mills in the towns and the traditional industries of farming, mining and fishing. Literacy-provision was also deemed to be of some importance because of the inevitable emigration to the mainland or the English-speaking world -- an aspect of Manx education which has never dimished, even to the present day.

It also meant that the middle class in Man was on the increase and was mindful of its need to educate, in the appropriate fashion, its young, in establishments that resembled those of the mainland. The English influence was now more than just considerable: Man's alignment in almost every sphere was overwhelmingly English. The control-group's expectations now ensured that both elementary and secondary education would follow the paradigms of England.

There were now two distinct systems of education evolving in Man, as on the mainland, that of provision for the poor being provided according to perceived socio-economic needs. The Manx middle class was every bit as aware of its obligations to the working class as was its larger cousin on the mainland, and, not surprisingly, it fulfilled them in the same manner But it lacked something which the mainland possessed and in which the mainland middle class gave its own offspring a special sense of identity: a public school. It is therefore no great surprise to learn that the insular establishment created a new college in emulation of those great public institutions in England.

King William's College, 1833: An English Public School in Man

Closely resembling Llampeter School, upon which it was based, King William's College, Isle of Man, entered the lists of English public schools in the 1830's. Although it was no Marlborough, Wellington or Malvern, and was founded a decade earlier than these illustrious middle class preserves, it did fulfill the needs of the Manx, and was essentially an Anglican-backed enterprise designed to educate the sons of the rising Manx bourgeoisie along traditional English public school lines.

The College perhaps had its roots in the seventeenth century, with Bishop Barrow's provision for the education of Manx scholars in the Academic School in Castletown and in Dublin. Two farms -- Hango Hill and Ballagilley, in the parish of Malew, which Barrow had appropriated from one John Lace, in his capacity as a sword-bishop -- formed the basis of the Barrow Trust of 1668, together with Barrow's will of 1679. From this fund, the expenses of the Academic Scholars and the Academic Master's salary were paid, and, by the year 1830, it had accumulated some £5,000, an excess which begged to be put to constructive use. Pressed by urgings of the Anglican middle class, the Governor, Cornelius Smelt, and the Bishop, William Ward, came up with the possibility of building a college. With this in mind, the Governor consulted the Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, in 1830.[43] It was subsequently decided to found the proposed college, and an appeal for further funds was launched, which yielded £1,500 from Manx sources, King William IV supplying his name to the venture in lieu of a cash donation. However, there was some debate as to what type of college was needed. The progressives and conservatives did not agree as to the curriculum or the clientele preferred.

Sir William Hillary, in a letter to the trustees of the Academic Fund in 1830, urged that this new "Royal College of Man" or "Royal Manx College" be shaped into a glorified mathematical school, dedicated to instructing the "youth of all classes" in navigation, mathematics and astronomy; it was to be complete with an observatory and professorships.[44] Unfortunately, this was not to be exactly the case: the "youth of all classes" were not desired by the Church-state elite in control of clientele and curriculum (although some of Hillary's wishes came to fruition with the teaching of navigation and mathematics) and a traditional residential college was the result. According to an 1833 poster appealing for funds, the "Manks College" would be a "seminary, where the children may receive a pious and liberal education, on moderate and reasonable terms, without the risk of crossing the water, and at no material distance from their home."[45]

King William's College opened its doors in 1833 and accepted fee-paying boys to be educated "in the faith and principles of the established Church," and with the curriculum of the academies on the mainland. By 1840, some two hundred boys were receiving an "excellent education," and the sons of the clergy -- a group now relatively quite prosperous, thanks to the Tithe Commutation Act -- were being educated alongside the sons of immigrant English gentry and entrepreneurs.[46] The "Llampeter formula" was successful; a grammar school was combined with a department for those destined for holy orders, and by the middle of the 1840's, the curriculum had enlarged itself to include Greek, Latin, the classics, Hebrew, Latin and English composition, history, geography, mathematics, mensuration, fortification and navigation. Modern Languages and drawing were optional (this was not strictly a traditional curriculum, as the introduction of subjects other than the dominant Latin, Greek and classics shows; but the times were changing and Arnold's ideas on religious and moral principles, gentlemanly conduct and intellectual ability (in that order of importance) were diffused throughout the great schools). In addition, the introduction of practical subjects from the nonconformist academies -- particularly the sciences -- attracted the nouveau riche bourgeoisie: that which led to the making of money was a better investment than that which did not, but at the same time a parvenu needed the social graces and marginally useful traditional subjects in order to be accepted by an elite establishment which ostensibly had little to do with the world of capitalist enterprise. The veneer of a "correct" education meant a great deal to this class, and its members were willing to pay for their offspring: King William's College charged from £4 to £10 per year for day-boys and up to thirty guineas for boarders. Gratuitous education was extended to some twenty-two boys, the sons of the native clergy, their fees being paid by the Anglican Church on the mainland. These boys, after attending Oxford University, were destined to serve in the Manx Church, exactly as Barrow would have wanted by his provisions some two centuries previously.

Thus, with the advent of the College the Castletown Academy had been eclipsed, the Manx Church had been given a fillip by its proprietorship of a prestigious public school (and benefited, by this added piece of educational ordnance, in the sectarian rivalry which was becoming pronounced). Also the families of the recently-resident middle class English (said to be numbering in excess of five hundred at this time, resident in Douglas, Castletown and Ramsey, and existing on the half pay given by the British army and navy[47]) had an establishment of some prestige at which their sons could be educated, to an acceptable English standard, away from, yet near to home. The English public school had found its way to Man.

English Government Policy in the Whig Era, 1830 - 1841

The college-grammar-academy cluster of secondary schooling establishments in the Isle of Man groomed the Anglo-Manx middle class youth for service in British and Manx institutions, from the Church to the army, from the East India Company to the government and from commerce to industry. The elementary establishments prepared the indigenous lower orders for service and labour in hotels, homes, farms, mills, the fishing industry, mining and the non-commissioned ranks of the military. A two-track system of education had been forged which was to remain in existence until the conclusion of the Second World War. It lacked only one thing possessed by the mainland: a post-secondary institution in the nature of a university -- and it still does. But this presented no problem for the Manx elite; with the regularized contact with the mainland created during the 1820's and 1830's, the Anglo-Manx graduates of the island's secondary system were sent to Anglican and Presbyterian universities in Ireland, Scotland and England where they received reinforcement in metropolitan values before seeking employment in the British Isles and the Empire. For the middle class, the taint of "localism" was thereby removed, and the island's Anglican power-group aligned itself with its larger sister-groups in England, and, to a certain extent, in Ireland and Scotland. The English model of education, although incomplete at a vital point, had prevailed, making Man a semi-detached part of the English system, fully open to English influences in every aspect.[48]

The expectations of the middle class, both for themselves and for the lower orders, were being met by the imposition of a new layer of schooling at the lower level and the provision of an elitist institution at the upper level. Both were levels imported from England and were structured for the societal composition of that country.

The 1832 Reform Bill enfranchised the middle class and brought in a reformed Parliament strongly influenced by utilitarian ideas. Politically, the Bill spurred the Anglo-Manx to a new level of activity in the struggle for popular government. A Manx reformist newspaper, the Mona's Herald, was established in 1833 with a view to heading a movement for the reform of Tynwald and of the Imperial system of taxation with representation in Westminster. Petitions for the redress of these grievances received little consideration from the Home Secretary: an offer, in 1838, of one representative from Man to be placed in Westminster was all that Whitehall was willing to concede. But the struggle for greater control of insular revenues, lost in 1765, was helped by the Lieutenant-Governors following Cornelius Smelt, who sympathized with the situation of the Manx people. Revenues and surpluses had been increasing considerably with the arrival of English settlers and tourists,[49] and finances were controlled almost completely by London and the Imperial governors of Man, a situation which irked the Manx as insular wealth increased. The struggle eventually came to have special bearing upon the control of education in Man since both Whitehall and the Manx reformers were aware that schooling was an increasingly important cornerstone of the industrial milieu, and was an instrument of social control and of societal betterment in every class stratum. As such, the years leading up to the reform of Tynwald (1866) were to see the question of finance and the nature and control of education brought into sharp focus. Schooling was to be more than just the concern of the Church.

The Whig reform era therefore was of great importance to Man: it made the Manx aware of freedoms which could be attained, and it turned Whitehall's attention to the need for state intervention in education, paralleling that which was occurring in England. The failure of J.A. Roebuck's education bill in 1833 was a disappointment to the utilitarians. But the times were not yet ripe for a national system of compulsory education in which religious opinion was to be compromised. Instead, on August 17, 1833, in an empty House of Commons, £20,000 was granted to aid the work of the National and British Societies in their educational endeavours. The Isle of Man was included -- albeit somewhat tardily -- in this scheme.[50]

With the creation of the Committee of Privy Council on Education (1839), the authority of the state increased. The inspection of schools was inaugurated for the purpose of supervising the use of Government grants, and, during the following decade, this system was extended to Man. The National Society, as the larger of the two recipient bodies, received the lion's share of funding. Although it was not happy with the authority and autonomy of the Council, it accepted state charity (amounting to some £400,000 in the 1840's) and disbursed the money to Anglican establishments across the country. The British Society was content to accept £100,000 during the same period, but grew alarmed at Church demands for Canterbury and York-approved inspectors of schools, and at government moves to acquisce in Church opinion. Disquiet flared among the secularists and, inevitably, spread to the Isle of Man, where Anglicans and nonconformists were now suspicious of each other.

Manx Education towards Mid-Century

Between 1833 and 1868, some twenty-nine schools in the Isle of Man received Imperial grants in aid, both Societies being active in encouraging English financial support for their respective Manx schools. Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth was in contact with vicars in the island who applied to him directly for government aid. A typical example of such correspondence was that of the Rev. J.T. Clarke, Vicar of St. Mark's, who wrote to Kay-

Shuttleworth applying for money to help in the erection of "school buildings, with a master's house and their appurtenances, and towards the furnishing of the school rooms at St. Mark's, Isle of Man ...."[51] Clarke received an appropriation of £70, contingent upon the school promoters fulfilling the conditions stipulated by the Lord President of the Council. He also received a further sum of money (£30) in 1845, under the same conditions. However, a strange situation had now occurred with funding in the Isle of Man: the Council forwarded money directly to the school promoters or clergymen requesting aid, but did not channel funds through the Societies. This odd situation stemmed from the fact that the National Society, for one, had somehow overlooked the Isle of Man in its charter: the Committee of the Society did not vote grants to schools in the island, and no collection in aid of the Society's fund was made in Man. Thus, the funds of the National Society were actually denied to Manx schools until 1846, when the charter was altered to read: "For the education of the poor of the two metropolitan jurisdictions," instead of the "poor of England and Wales."[52] Man was thereby admitted to the fold.

The Manx schools at this time were not fully under the British Government's scheme of education, i.e., there was no inspection to verify that Imperial money had been appropriately used by the petitioners. Full inclusion came in 1848, following an Imperial inquiry into the status of schooling in Man. But an interesting event in government funding had taken place with coming of Bishop Thomas Short to the island in 1841, one which, in part, prepared the way for the impending Imperial financial control of 1848.

Bishop Short noted the condition of the Manx parochial schools, with their masters, as being in great need of improvement. His Convocation address of 1845 showed his concern:

> My great object has been to improve existing schools, trying to render those schools where I found tolerably efficient masters more efficient, in the hope that when people see respectable teaching by the side of inefficient schooling, they may become dissatisfied with the latter and try to improve it .... I do not yet know of any school which I could exhibit as a pattern; there are several which are very respectable, but they are all wanting in instruction or method.[53]

As a means of supplementing the masters' salaries, the old Royal Bounty of £100 (worth £89 9 0 in 1842) was boosted by payments from vacant livings and distributed to the "Poor Clergymen and Schoolmasters" by Royal order in December of 1842.[54] But this was hardly enough to effect any discernable betterment of parochial schooling which was not yet under the Committee of Council's scheme, and not able to partake fully of the benefits of the National Society's coffers. Despite the fact that private schooling on the island was in a healthy state (with institutions such as the Atholl Academy attracting the wealthy with every branch of learning imaginable for thirty-five to forty guineas per term, and with the College thriving after its 1844 conflagration), the state of endowed elementary and secondary schooling prior to 1850 was not. This fact is laid bare by two reports published in 1847 and by newspaper expositions of abuses.

The two reports -- the Rev. H. Moseley's Report of the Parochial Schools in the Isle of Man and the Statistical View of the State of Education in the Isle of Man (see Appendix H) upon which Moseley relied for much of his data, are of critical importance in assessing both the Imperial attitude to Manx parochial schooling and the condition of elementary schooling in general on the eve of the Imperial intervention of 1848. Consequently, they each deserve to be examined.

The Moseley Report, 1847, and the Statistical View of Manx Education, 1847

As previously stated, Manx schools were not fully under the Committee of Council's scheme before 1848, and nor were the Manx schools included in the charity of the mainland National Society before 1846. True, the National Society branch in the Isle of Man aided its own schools by reference to voluntaryism within the island itself until 1846, and the Committee of Council forwarded funds to individual schools (as with St. Mark's Parochial School, or the Peel Mathematical School, which received a grant in January, 1848, of £112, to enable it to re-open after its decay at the hands of Dodd[55]) -- but the principle of government inspection did not exist in Man until after 1848.

The Rev. H. Moseley was dispatched in 1847 by Whitehall to make a thorough investigation of Manx parochial schooling, with a view to giving the Committee and the Imperial Government a better understanding of Manx educational history and its present condition. This was essential before greater financial outlay was undertaken and the inclusion of Man in the Whitehall aid/control scheme. Moseley was the first English H.M.I. to inspect the Manx system and publish his findings; he was not to be the last, and with his advent the principle of inspection by visitation from the mainland was inaugurated. The visitations have continued to the present day, there being no H.M.I. resident within the island.

Canon Moseley, who, from 1844 to 1855, was the most influential member of H.M. Inspectorate,[56] was not satisfied with the quality of teaching in Man. He found the Manx teachers to be lacking in respect of any teacher training methodology (Kay-Shuttleworth's pupil-teacher scheme had just been implemented on the mainland, and involved the replacement of monitors by teaching apprentices[57]). Accordingly, Moseley recommended that the "existing race of schoolmasters, to improve their knowledge, and to increase their exertions for the efficient management of their schools," be offered salary-augmentations of from £15 - £30 per year.[58] This recommendation was partly designed to improve the lamentable state of many teachers' pittances: their incomes varied from £4 to an average of £6 (without quarterages) and £14 with quarterages (see Appendix H for details). Indeed, many teachers -- some 26 out of 56 -- were obliged to take up other occupations to make ends meet. Some, like James Clukish in T.E. Brown's "The Schoolmasters" went about their supplementary occupation right in the classroom:

> A tailor he was to his trade
> And many's the pair of breeches he made
> In jandher school -- cut out you know,
> On the desk afore him; and sew and sew.[59]

At a conservative estimate, some twenty-six of the day school teachers who answered the returns of the Isle of Man Educational Library Committee were in the same position as Clukish, their low stipends and quarterages giving them no option but to compromise their teaching duties by working at some other job both in and out of school. Schooling suffered accordingly, as Moseley noted.

But there were conditions attached to Moseley's proposed augmentations: a certificate of competency was to be attained in the "attainments of the office of schoolmaster," and oral and written examinations were to be administered in the following areas:

Religious knowledge (the doctrines of the Church, Scriptures to catechism, SPCK-approved)
English grammar and composition (in correct and appropriate language)
Geography (with map-memorization work)
History (English only, SPCK-approved)
Arithmetic (decimals and higher rules)
Bookeeping
Elements of mechanics

Elements of geometry (20 positions of Euclid)
Rudiments of algebra
Mensuration
Elements of land-surveying and levelling

In addition, the teacher would have to write the notes of a lesson an account of the organization of his school and the methods of instruction operating within it, and, finally, an essay connected with the art of teaching.[60]

All of the above, if completed satisfactorily, would then qualify the master to have pupil teachers under his guidance -- the pupils needing to be of respectable parentage, of good health, free from infirmity (and morally and religiously "sound"), able to read with fluency and expression, to write in a "neat hand, with correct spelling and punctuation," to point out the parts of speech, to have an elementary knowledge of geography and to know simple arithmetic. Additionally, the catechism (in Anglican-affiliated schools) and scriptural history were to be known and verified by school managers or clergymen -- and girls were to be able to sew and knit. A junior class had also to be taught to the satisfaction of an inspector.[61]

The candidates who satisfied all of the foregoing were then apprenticed to a master by indenture for a period of five years, the master receiving financial consideration for the pupil teacher on an increasing scale, which started at £10 and concluded at £20 at the end of the fifth year. Extra candidates brought further remuneration for the master. All Manx pupil teachers were eligible for the Queen's Scholarship, where attendance at a Normal School in England (Chester being the closest) was provided for.

Moseley's proposals were no more than what was being enacted on the mainland and were designed to bring the Manx teachers, children and curriculum into the same form of standardization as that being forged in England. Imperial aid brought with it Imperial values and control, from subject matter to inspection, and this was fully recognized by Moseley, who expressed his desire to bring Man into complete alignment with English educational policy.[62] There were, however, some anomalies which Moseley pointed out to the Committee, and in so doing, he harked back to the 1703 Manx Education Act, which provided for the maintenance in each parish of a school (by assessment upon parishioners), with fines for non-attendance, licensing by the bishop, payment of teachers by the special funds and charities peculiar to the island, along with the regulation of quarterages of 1813. These anomalies were presented in his summary, which is of particular interest, since he thought that Manx education was, in many respects, "remarkable," not the least of which was the principle of state education, with its roots in the seventeenth century. As he stated:

> The principle of "State Education" appears to have received a legal recognition in the Isle of Man. First, the school house is built and repaired by legal assessment upon the community. Secondly, it is enacted by law that every child of a proper age shall attend the school. Thirdly, it is provided that certain children shall attend free of charge -- the rate of payment of the rest is prescribed by law. Fourthly, it is forbidden by law that any man should exercise the profession of schoolmaster, whose qualifications have not been ascertained by a competent authority and who has not been duly licensed.63

Moseley thought that Manx education -- despite the laws, many of which had fallen into disrepute with the failure of the discipline in the previous century -- fell short of the results expected. He blamed specifically administrative neglect and inadequately-instructed teachers. He was correct on both counts: Manx education had no direct authority and little structure to its operation, being the assorted assembly of numerous agencies and interests over some two hundred years of Church, state and private-interest enterprises, waxing and waning in cycles of semi-isolated purpose. It was also subject to abuse by teachers of "preference-teaching," since those who paid the least for attention were ignored the most, while those who paid adequately were given the lion's share of the time in the subjects under consideration. Such abuse -- the natural outcome of providing for financial security -- was observed by Moseley. His description of it was damning:

> The principle which affixes an additional payment for every additional subject taught has ... been found to work ill wherever it has been tried. It offers to the master a temptation to neglect the children who pay him least, for those who pay him most. It prevents the children being advantageously classed in a school and it is a system by which a child who learns only one subject is deprived of that assistance in learning it which he might derive from a knowledge of others.64

This situation resulted in a gross imbalance (according to findings in the Statistical View of Education in the Isle of Man[65]) in that of 1,387 boys and 981 girls in school at that time, 2,038 were taught to read (74 percent), 1,193 were taught to read and write (43 percent) and 1,004 were taught arithmetic (36 percent). It can therefore be seen that reading was the most common skill taught, even though only 74 percent received it, while writing was an accomplishment which less than half received. Arithmetic fared even worse, with only 36 percent being taught the intricacies of numeracy. If one compares these percentages with those of the mainland from the 1851 Educational Census, they can indeed be seen to be below the levels ascertained for the various subjects, which were as follows: Reading -- 88 percent; Writing -- 62.5 percent; Arithmetic -- 56.4 percent; English grammar -- 27.3 percent; Geography -- 30.6 percent; Mathematics -- 3.6 percent.[66] Clearly, basic literacy was not being adequately provided in Man. Extra subjects in the Manx schools, such as grammar (309 or 11 percent), geography (623 or 23 percent), history (250 or 9 percent), composition (193 or 7 percent), book keeping (10 or 0.3 percent) and mathematics (6 or 0.2 percent) were the preserve of either the wealthier of the more fortunate in the system. But the situation as described in the Taubman Free School of Castletown -- one of the supposedly better-endowed petty schools -- was perhaps commonplace, the free scholars being "left to themselves the greater part of the day ... while the master is engaged the rest of his time in another school room above stairs, attending the instruction of youths for which he is paid by the parents."[67]

As the above observer pointed out, it was a public grievance that the poor of any locality should be so "miserably neglected" and subjected to invidious distinction" and the "taunts and sneers of those who consider themselves so much their superiors," when there was supposed to be equality of instruction. Class attitudes and economics precluded this, and the separation of classes had long since been a fact, the one-class society, as Peter Laslett has called it,[68] having been terminated in Man by language (which caused the first societal rift), immigration (which furthered it) and economics (which completed it).

Of the 52 schools from which returns were received (some 29+ did not supply appropriate data) 17 were designated "parish" while the remainder were "private" or were supported by public subscription. Thirty-six (64 percent) of the teachers were male while the remainder, 20 (36 percent), were female, with two teaching alongside their husbands -- an aspect of feminization in Manx education worth noting, since the first appearance of female parish school teachers in the 1770's. Co-educationally, 31 schools taught boys and girls together, while the rest operated on segregated lines. But of special note is the fact that 21 schools (40 percent) were still using the monitorial method of instruction, a technique first introduced into Man in 1810. In 1848-50, it was still going strong, when its demise was at hand on the mainland, the newer student teacher system gaining the ascendancy. The "old" system was used by 27 schools (5 unascertained) and was characterized by a total lack of teaching equipment, while the monitorial schools did at least generally possess blackboards and a few globes or maps. However, 24 schools (46 percent) had no equipment whatsoever, while only one school (Kirk Andreas parochial, using the monitorial method) had more than two pieces of equipment for instruction.

Such a paucity of instructional means prompted Moseley to lament that the supply of slates and books was inadequate in Manx schools, despite the regular advertising of books for schools by the National Society in the Manx press. The Bible, as always, was used as a reader, from primer to advanced instruction: "In many of the schools, by reason of the absence of books of secular instruction, the Holy Scriptures are had recourse to for the mechanical instruction of the children in reading."[69] Needless to say, only English Bibles were in evidence, the Manx long since having been relegated to use in cottage and croft by an older generation.

Accurate percentages for children attending school in each parish were not recorded by the Teachers' Committee, although some of the returns noted anywhere from 6 to 200 in the district or parish as being in receipt of no schooling whatsoever. However, a comparison can be made with the school returns, on a district-by-district basis, with the population figures from the 1841 census, in order to yield percentages of total district populations under instruction in that era.

TABLE 1

A Comparison: Parish Populations and Children Attending School

1847

Parish/Town	Pop. 1841	In School, 1847	No Returns	Percentage
Douglas	8,647	851	3 schools	10% or 1 in 10
Castletown	2,283	206	2 schools	10% or 1 in 10
Ramsey	2,104	No return	2 schools	-
Peel	2,133	No return	2 schools	-
Patrick	2,768	217	-	8% or 1 in 13
German	1.896	121	-	8% or 1 in 13
Marown	1,381	No return	1 school	-
Michael	1,376	73	-	6% or 1 in 17
Ballaugh	1,516	75	1 school	8% or 1 in 12
Jurby	1,063	155	-	15% or 1 in 7
Lezayre	2,323	159	-	7% or 1 in 15
Andreas	2,332	186	-	8% or 1 in 13
Bride	1,153	No return	-	
Maughold	1,585	No return	-	
Lonan	2,230	130	1 school	8% or 1 in 12
Conchan	2,589	105	2 schools	6% or 1 in 17
Braddan	2,122	94	4 schools	9% or 1 in 11
Santon	769	66	-	9% or 1 in 11
Malew	3,085	111	2 schools	5% or 1 in 20
Arbory	1,615	109	-	7% or 1 in 15
Rushen	3,079	84	3 schools	5% or 1 in 20
Totals:	47,975	2,752	29 schools	

Some fifty-two schools sent in returns for a total of 2,752 children on the registers. If allowance, however, is made for the schools from which no returns were received (at least 29) and, keeping this figure proportionately low, it would appear that perhaps 8.25 percent of the population, or 1 in 12, was receiving some education in a day school. This does not exactly tally with Moseley's statement in his report that "upwards of an eighteenth part of the entire population of the Island" was under instruction.[70] Moseley, however, was approximately correct, since 2,752 makes for an eighteenth of the population, his conclusions being gleaned from what he received.

At any rate, taken together, these figures are indicative of some change having taken place in the ratio of schooling from 1820, as intimated by the 1818 Brougham Report, where 1 in 14.5 received day-school education in Man, as against 1 in 17.25 in England at that time. Perhaps it would be appropriate to state that Horace Mann's desired ratio of 1 in 6, or the "1 in 6 rule," was the target figure for elementary education in England and Wales (post-1851) and was not too far distant from the ratio of 1 in 8.36 which was perhaps the case.[71]

The state of education was indeed far from satisfactory, as Mann surmised, since only 2.1 million children attended a day school out of a population of 18 million -- a figure which yields a percentage of 11.6, or a ratio of 1 in 8.5 (or 1 in 8.36, as Mann assessed it). This ratio is however, better than that evidenced in the Isle of Man, where (with adjustment 1 in 12 was in receipt of schooling in the elementary age range (or 1 in 18 if Moseley's assessment is to be believed).

The picture changes somewhat if one includes the larger area of schooling which encompasses Sunday education, i.e., Sunday schooling, although there is no evidence secular education was part and parcel of such instruction, as was the case on the mainland. Indeed, as E.W. Corlett points out, some eighty-one Manx day schools of all types may have obviated the need for anything other than biblical teaching,[72] although this is an assertion which is perhaps too sweeping, and does not take into account the possibility that the difference between the day-school and Sunday school pupils -- some 845 children -- needs consideration regarding secular instruction (not to mention the possibility of occasional attenders gleaning the rudiments of the 3 R's on a Sunday, as James Cowin did before attending day school (see Cowin's Reminiscences, 1902). Be that as it may, Manx schooling had received its first thorough external examination at the hands of an Imperial inspector intent upon laying bare the state of elementary education, for the benefit of Whitehall, prior to Man's inclusion in the English scheme of inspection, payments and standards of accomplishment. It was to be a scheme from which the Manx were never quite able to break free.

The two surveys can thus be said to have presented the Manx and Whitehall with evidence that schooling in the island, although it had improved since the 1818 survey in the provision of literacy designed for the lower -- and middle -- orders, was not at a level deemed satisfactory (1 in 12 or even 18) when compared with ratios on the mainland -- either actual or desired. But Man was not the mainland, as Moseley acknowledged.

Sunday Schooling

Concerning the Sunday aspect of education revealed at this time, some 17 Anglican, 18 Wesleyan, 12 Primitive Methodist, 2 Roman Catholic and 1 Independent Sunday schools were in operation (1847), run by 735 teachers (400 male and 259 female) who taught some 3,597 children (1,590 boys and 1307 girls). This figure of children in attendance represents approximately 7 percent of the total population of Man, or a ratio of 1 in 14 who were receiving some kind of instruction (albeit sectarian) one day per week. This compares unfavourably with the 1851 Census for England and Wales, where the scholar-to population ratio was 1 in 7.45.[73] This marks a distinct decrease in the Manx ratio from the 1819 figures, where 3,447 children attended Sunday school, giving a ratio of 1 in 11.6. Sunday schooling, it would seem was not what it once had been, and the English figures, by comparison, show the Manx to have decreased their appetite for instruction on the Sabbath. Conjecture as to why this occurred could cover a gamut of propositions, from decreased religiosity -- which was hardly likely -- to the effectiveness of day schooling in giving the rudiments of secular instruction, thereby decreasing the demand for Sunday instruction -- which was also hardly likely. Certainly, English Sunday schooling was in a healthier state, but secular instruction probably figured more prominently here than in Man, and as such, attracted those who did not attend school during the week.

As in England, the teachers of these schools were unpaid sectarians, intent upon bestowing the blessings of particularist religious learning upon their charges for the day. Armed with a total of 3,597 books in the Manx Sunday school libraries, these teachers sought the added goal of keeping the Sabbath quiet, an aspect of social control which apparently had not been fully achieved in the major towns in 1849. The problem of idleness on Sunday brought the following concerns to light by a middle class proponent of Sunday schooling for the lower orders:

> I know of no locality where there are more idle and vagrant youths than in Douglas. The few older boys, who obtain a precarious subsistence during the week, assemble in hordes, in company with other abandoned characters and decorate the Sabbath in various manners, some in playing pitch and toss, marbles, balls and other games; some in rambling on the sands, in the fields, streets and lanes to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, whilst others are engaged in committing various breaches of the peace.
> And it is a fact that there are hundreds of children in Douglas not at schools who should be there, it is clearly evident that some effort should be made to put an end to this melancholy state of things.74

Industrial schools were mooted as being the answer to the problem of children set free on Sunday and during the week, such schools being thought of as a "benefit to the rising generation of the poor, as well as towards the safety and well-being of the community at large."[75] The community wanting such assurances of social control and quiescence of the lower orders was, of course, middle class, and indeed, industrial schools did eventually come into existence later in the century in Man (although few in number) to act as a further hedge against moral backsliding. Further complaints during the same era tell of "children of seven years old infesting the streets every evening with curses and songs," and of parents conniving at and tutoring them in wickedness.[76]

Clearly, things were not well with the perceived state of schooling, of attendance through the week and of orderliness among the children of the "rising poor" in Man, who, if they were not safely quartered in schools to the satisfaction of those who sought greater regulation and control, were thought of as being threats to the peace, and themselves, annoyances who were spiritually and morally bankrupt. Needless to say, these attitudes of the middle class were mirrored on the mainland with equal concern, where proportionately greater progress was being made in the "processing" of children through day and Sunday schools, institutions where the children of the working class were to be exposed to benefits of cleanliness, orderliness, punctuality, obedience, thrift, godliness, virtue, respectablility and a score more civilizing and "gentling" influences. And the Manx middle class cannot but have welcomed the increasing inroads made by Whitehall in this vital area of societal-grooming, since it would seem -- despite the best of intentions -- that the Manx Church had not adequately discharged its old educational/social role in the provision of basic literacy (now fully in English) and needed values to the children of the poor in the changing societal patterns of Man. English state intervention was thus well-justified to this group.

Post-Intervention Developments: Conditions and Control

If the rising generation of the Manx poor were not attending both daily and Sunday schools in the numbers desired by their betters -- and it is obvious the schooling had not assumed the same degree of attainment as on the mainland, despite the misgivings of Horace Mann -- it must be stated that Canon Moseley was not entirely condemning in his assessments of what the Manx had developed. He described the clientele of the parochial schools (the off-spring of small farmers, tradespeople and labourers) as being desirous of education, there being a "public opinion generally favourable to education as well among the industrial classes as among the farmers."[77] Indeed, he wrote glowingly of Manx children who attended school, stating that he thought them to be singularly apt, quick, intelligent and fond of learning. And it may well have been his generally positive tone in this direction which prompted Kay-Shuttleworth and the Committee of Council to look favourably upon the possibilities of developing English schooling in Man, knowing full well that alignment with Imperial policy (as desired by Horace Mann) would not be effected overnight. Moseley stated his expectations thus:

> The means by which the Government seek to remedy these evils do not contemplate their immediate removal. It is not expected that the education of the country should pass at once from the state in which these measures take it up to that in which they are calculated eventually to replace it. Their operation is gradual.78

After the acceptance of the report, Kay-Shuttleworth was in contact with the two principal groups in charge of elementary education in the island. He placed an impressive article in the Manx press (1848) explaining the benefits of being included in the British Government's scheme of education, stating what part the Privy Council played, how inspection worked and what was to be expected of teachers, pupil-teachers and scholars. Qualifications and rates of pay were also delineated. He printed his address in London to which interested parties could write for further information concerning any part of the scheme, and generally wished the island well "on being under the British Government scheme of education."[79]

The island was now part of the Lancashire inspectorate, incorporated into the mainland system of grants and direction, while the inauguration of the pupil-teacher system endured that Manx teachers would be part of the Queen's Scholarship program, receiving their teacher training at Normal schools on the mainland, operated by the major religious bodies (there being thirty such schools by 1850, conducted along the lines established by Kay-Shuttleworth at Battersea). Here, the Manx pupil-teachers resided for one, two or three years, and emerged with a teacher's certificate. They were also inbued with the values of the English middle class: character training and formation through religious instruction made for good "missionaries to the poor." Inspired by "Christian charity," the Manx teachers would be expected to undertake "serious duties in a humble sphere."[80] The idea of service was stressed co-equally with duty, and these young men and women returned to the island from 1850 onwards as missionaries not only to the Manx poor, but as missionaries for the English-style curriculum and the English language. Through them, a new form of control was brought to the island, in addition to that which Whitehall was overtly exercising: all things English were to be stressed to the detriment of the Manx culture. Subjects of Manx interest were ignored in history and literature; English history, English poetry and English prose prevailed. The anglicized Manx, along with the English imports in the teaching profession and in middle class society, were unsympathetic in their stance, so that the Manx dialect was frowned upon and the language itself ignored.[81] In some schools, the Manx-Gaelic -- or what remained of it -- was forbidden entirely, both in the classroom and on the playground. The child who had learned Ny Kirree fo Niaghtey and Mylecharance at its father's knee, who read the carval book and enjoyed the Oie'll Voirrey was made to understand that these things were of no real significance, and compared with spelling, grammar and mental arithmetic, were of very little account.[82]

Clearly then, a new era of education had begun; the Isle of Man was now more than ever caught up in the educational thrust of the mainland, with all its issues and concerns, not the least of which was the on-going debate over sectarianism versus secularism in schooling. Such issues were to plague Manx education almost to the same degree as in England.

The intervention by the Government in English education after 1833 -- and especially in Man after 1848 -- prompted increasing concern and jealousy on the part of the religious bodies providing it, and accompanying impatience, enthusiasm and doubts on the part of the utilitarian-inspired secularists. The former group was suspicious of the state (i.e., government), while the latter was desirous of seeing a national system of secular education supplant that which the Government was aiding. Sir James Graham's attempt, in 1843, to introduce schooling for factory children, based upon Anglican control via the National Society's tenets, was scotched by middle class nonconformist forces. The furore caused by this latter group flared the old suspicions and jealousies, and the "voluntaryist" position entered educational politics, a position which advocated an end to governmental grants and regulations and preferences. The three sides involved hardened in their beliefs as time went on, preventing any concerted effort at a national system for more than a generation. All three sides also had their representatives in the Isle of Man, whose union with the mainland in educational matters was now sealed and it became England writ small. The issues concerning educational matters in England now became those of the client groups in Man.

The era leading to the Chartist defeat saw Man become a hotbed of discussion concerning the aims and control of education. The Reform Bill of 1832 prompted Chartism to seek social reform, with William Lovett outlining an enlightened program of education, government-supported and locally controlled. Espousing the Chartist cause was not only a group of reform-minded Manxman behind the Mona's Herald, who wanted greater representative Manx government, but the Irishman, James Bronterre O'Brien, the editor and publisher of the Douglas-based National Reformer and Manx Weekly Review of Home and Foreign Affairs. The rhetoric which O'Brien printed inflamed the island's press, and all parties sought to justify their positions on educational matters. Ideologies were, as a matter of course, laid bare; the following is indicative of O'Brien's stance, written two years before the Communist Manifesto, yet smacking of the same indignation at class-exploitation and manipulation, the lower orders being the losers at the hands of the middle class capitalists:

> National education periodically becomes the popular movement of the day; and it would not do for the money-changers, the rich factory-owners and the landlords to oppose it. But while they seemingly acquiesce in the general movement for the education of the people, they take special care to direct and control the course of that education, so that its results shall redound to their own profit and aggrandisement. The present state of the labouring class of this nation is at once an illustration and a proof of this deceptive process. The teachers of the parochial and national schools have ever been the creatures of the parish priests; and these latter the boon companions and the sacerdotal agents of the usurers and profit-mongers.[83]

Apart from branding priests and doctors, lawyers and schoolmasters as the tools of the wealthy middle class (all of whom were employed to "influence, control, over-awe and keep in subjection nineteen twentieths of the people who work for bread,") he did perhaps strike some aspect of truth in pointing out that schools for the poor trained children to become "dolts and sycophants," taught to obey those who had rule over them, rendering services to masters spiritual and temporal, only to be rewarded by "nakedness and starvation," while being told that poverty, toil and pain would earn greater rewards in heaven. By such "illustrious humbug," social and political rights were crushed, with teachers being the chief culprits in the deceit of the poor.[84]

Here indeed was the Manx radical press, urging the better education of the bulk of the population, free of control by vested interest. O'Brien's opinions were echoed in the contemporary papers of the mainland to some extent. Chamber's Edinburgh Journal joined him, calling the education of the lower classes a farce, since thousands received no education at all, sectarianism being labelled the "blight of national improvement" which "kept the people in ignorance."[85] Education by charitable subscription was regarded as "worse than a fallacy" by such utilitarian-minded organs, and the demand for a system of national education, free of religious contamination, was endorsed as being the cornerstone of democracy.

The Manx Sun expressed its views in less strident tones. It was acknowledged that the island was a small and generally impoverished community, where voluntary contribution was minimal in the support of literacy. It was deemed improper, given the spirit of the times, to resuscitate the 1703 laws of compulsion and fine (which were not defunct) even though a good case could be made for their enforcement in the light of poor schooling-to-population ratios revealed by Imperial inquiry. Additionally, the potential claim to control over anything other than parochial and chapel schools by the Bishop of Sodor and Man was deemed inadvisable, while support was given to the proposal whereby parochial schoolmasters and dissenters' schools could benefit from aid from the Manx surplus revenue via the Treasury,[86] something which had been suggested by Moseley as a possibility for raising the low salaries in insular teaching, and thereby raising the standards of education in the process.

Lord Russell's adovcacy of non-sectarian state education was well-studied in the Manx press, again with the Manx Sun examining the educational systems of Germany and Ireland, the latter having seen both state-provided education (first with the Kildare Place Society, then with the Board of Commissioners) and starvation, neither having impressed the Manx reformers as to the blessings of English provision and control. The following comment reveals the stance of those who were suspicious of increasing governmental inroads in education:

> Better would it be that every school should be extinguished than the condition of the people be degraded by a system which, pretending to provide instruction for them by the State, would in reality provide it for them out of their wages and take from them all control over the expenditure.87

The issue of English control over Manx revenues now became enmeshed with the control of education. Both were seen by many as unnecessary Imperial intervention, depriving the Manx of economic and educational self-determination. The Sun (shifting to a different stance) now objected to Westminster "encouraging and assisting education" on the same grounds as its interference with trade or agriculture: it turned encouragement and assistance into regulation and control, and the Manx knew well the extent of Imperial regulation in trade and finance.[88] By way of explanation here, Manx deputations to Westminster requesting greater insular control of finances (with a rationale based upon the 1778 North American Colonies Act and the ancient Manx constitution) in 1837, 1844 and 1853 did bring some measure of relief in the way of Imperial concessions: Manx surplus revenues were more readily disbursed, harbour duties were abolished and the oppressive monopolies/licence system was ended in 1844. Further, there was a reduction in dutiable articles, and **in 1853 it was declared that the Isle of Man was deemed to be a part of the United Kingdom,** thereby permitting the landing of foreign goods (except tobacco and spirits) in Manx ports. This latter measure had taken some ninety years to be granted by Westminster and its significance, educationally, meant that Manx schooling was taken more than ever to be an extension of the English system, with certain peculiarities by way of tradition and culture acknowledged.

Such an aberration by way of deviance from the official English norm came in 1851, with Tynwald's "Act for Making Better Provision for Parochial and Other Schoolmasters, and for Making Further Regulations for the Better Government of the Parochial and Other Schools in the Isle of Man." It was to be an Act which was smiled upon by Whitehall and lauded by the Manx middle class, the representatives of which in Tynwald were far from blind as to the import of what Moseley had revealed and recommended. It is thus deserving of examination as part of the broadening Manx picture.

The 1851 Act: Anglican Schooling, Teacher Welfare and Imperial Aid

Undoubtedly, Canon Moseley's Report of 1847 was instrumental in making the Manx middle class aware of the comparably poorer state of education in the Isle of Man than in England. The ratio of population-to-pupil and the condition of elementary schooling in general were found to be wanting, and the self-elected delegates in the House of Keys determined to redress the situation and to make Whitehall less accusing in its capacity as superintendent.

Accordingly, Tynwald realized that in order to keep in step with the mainland, legislation was needed. Educational legislation had last been passed in 1813, and Moseley had shown that the weakness of the parochial system's remuneration for schoolmasters was that it was based upon the economic realities of that era. It was therefore no coincidence that the chronic financial state of many of the teachers prompted derision for the profession by the general Manx public. John Quine, in his book, The Captain of the Parish, showed this contempt, but a typical Manx opinion of schoolmasters, perhaps, is shown in the reminiscence of James Cowin, a pupil in one of the parish schools, circa 1850:

> In my younger days, the lame and the halt, if they were not suited to any ordinary employment, and they had an education capable of understanding and teaching the three R's, were devoted to the important office of teaching the younger Manx idea. If a countryman landed in Douglas on Saturday, very lame, and dressed better than a ordinary lame beggar, he was spotted as a country schoolmaster....89

"Limpy Cretney," "Lame Cubbon," "Lame Dan" and "Auntie Cowin and her Crutch:" such apellations betrayed the physical condition of these people, forced into the profession through Lack of viable alternatives and existing most frugally upon £6 - £10 incomes. (see Appendix H) Tynwald was cognizant of the special need to "improve the education of the poorer classes" and to make better provision for those charged with teaching them. It therefore enacted remediation at roughly the same time as the Great Exhibition opened its doors to the world, amid a mood of plenty, good-feeling, pleasure and national (Imperial) pride.

The 1851 Act

By the 1851 Act, the salary of a parish schoolmaster was not to be less than £30 and that of a schoolmistress not less than £20 (inclusive of fee). This was fixed for a seven-year period. Additionally, if complaints against the master/mistress were received concerning "neglect of duty or incompetency," or "immoral conduct or cruel and improper treatment of the scholars," censure suspension or dismissal by a school committee was to be authorized after due investigation. These "committees," composed of five to nine persons of the parish, were to be chaired by the parish vicar or curate, and had the power to hire as well as fire.

All property owners or occupiers of property within each parish or district were required to pay a voted "cess" or assessment which did not exceed £5 for each quarterland (and was voted by the vestries) for the provision of a "commodious house for a school, a dwelling house for the master and a garden for his use."[90] Money was also to be provided for house and school repair, for the provision of books and "good apparatus," for furniture and for the salary and "retiring allowance" for old and disabled schoolmasters.

As regards religious instruction, this was to be superintended and defined by the rector and vicar of the parish and every day-school child was expected to attend the Anglican Sunday school -- if his religion permitted him -- since the Manx parochial schools were in union with the

National Society. This union was seen as beneficial for the securing of grants from the Committee of Council, and, in return, H.M.I's from the mainland were permitted entry into any parish school for the purpose of inspecting and examining the premises, the teachers and the scholars.

Here then was a positive step in bolstering the image of Anglican parochial schooling in the island, a system which was the mainstay of literacy-provision for the proletariat. The cess upon parishioners for the support of school buildings, salary, pension and supplies was, for the first time, placed upon statute-footing and was quickly put to use: the parish of Patrick, in July of 1852, placed a five-shilling assessment on each seat in the parish church, in order to meet grants from Whitehall towards the erection of a teacherage and the re-building of the parochial schoolhouse.[91] Other parishes followed suit. Parish schooling was now placed on a new footing within the Whitehall scheme.

By this legislation, the Manx Church had succeeded in enlisting the help of the state to empower it to assess a uniform system of taxation upon all parishes in the island in support of National Society-approved schooling. The National Society no doubt thought it a fitting expedient as regards a traditionally Anglican island in need of educational betterment, and Whitehall gladly aquiesced in the move. Legislation in educational matters was not new to Man itself, nor indeed in other states: Scotland, New England, Upper Canada, France and Prussia had all experienced similar state-authorized assessments in support of public schooling, with local control being built into the plan in some measure or other. However, the question of religion was generally pushed further into the background in order to avoid sectarian confrontation. Indeed, the Lancashire Public School Association, formed in 1849, (and with which a number of dissenting Manxmen had association) was seeking a variation of that which Tynwald and the Church had effected in Man: universally, rate-supported, locally-managed schooling -- except that secular education (as sought by the Association) would have precluded the pre-eminence of the vicar and his Anglican appointees in the local authorities governing the operation of schools.

The Manx Act's provision for the welfare of parochial schoolteachers in respect of their salaries, superannuation and housing was something which was lacking on the mainland, where laissez faire hindered the Manx teacher's counterpart.[92] The seven-year period of fixed remuneration was an attempt to lift the salaries from the 1704/1803 statute-regulated rates of fees (and in doing so it recognized that inflation had made near-beggars of the teachers), with the adjustment for further inflation coming at the end of this time. Of course, the concomitant raising of quarterage fees meant that the parents of children who attended the parochial schools had to pay more for the basic education of their off-spring, an economic fact of life which no doubt caused those with large families at the lower end of the economic ladder to adjust the frequency of school attendance, or to deny it accordingly.

Anglican Schooling in the 1850's

As to the general nature of parochial schooling at this time, several accounts exist which give an interesting perspective concerning children, language, conditions and masters.

The farmsteads supported large families in the Isle of Man and the children were expected to perform much physical labour in the fields. Opportunities for attending school -- even though the school may have been many miles distant -- were seized willingly as means of escape from farm work, provided that the parents could afford the fees or the equivalent payment in kind of turf, turnips or potatoes. The demands of the agricultural cycle bit deeply into school attendance; holidays were fixed according to the state of the crops, particulary that of the corn harvest, and it was not unusual for farmers to have demanded child-labour directly from the school house in order to help with the thinning of turnips. The schoolmasters generally aquiesced in these rural demands.[93] Other holidays and early school closings were dictated by the caprice of the weather or of the master himself, especially during the winter and the summer tourist season, the latter providing many teachers with part-time employment.

Canes and cats o' nine tails were apparently very common instruments of cowing in the village schools. James Cowin described Lame Dan Christian as possessing both, the latter being used in lieu of moving around the classroom, which was difficult for a lame man who "claimed a considerable amount of space if he moved about." As Cowin remembered:

> Alongside of him, on a desk, lay his implements of torture -- a thick cane, about an ordinary finger in circumference; a thinner one, and then his "Cat and nine tails" -- the latter was made out of leather, perhaps about two inches wide, like a razor strop, then nicely cut down in nine equal proportions ... and perhaps 16 in. long, like shoe laces.94

The instruments were applied to naked buttocks, in full view of the class, which was generally mixed. Christian's wife, incidentally, could speak only Manx, while he could speak both Manx and English, and if any message had to be sent to her, some boy who could "do a bit of the native tongue" was dispatched. (As Cumming states, regarding language at the mid-century point, there were few persons -- and perhaps none of the young -- who knew no English, Manx being spoken in the mountain districts of the island.[95])

The one-roomed schools were often over-crowded and unsanitary, lacking proper ventillation and cleanliness. Children were packed closely together on benches or stools and the master sat on a high chair in order to oversee his charges. Little movement was tolerated. In Cowin's estimation, such schools did not adequately provide for more than the most basic literacy in English and arithmetic; a fact which was brought home to many recipients who moved from the island in search of work: it was generally the Scotsmen and Welshmen who fared better in emigration, simply because they received a better basic grounding in literacy, and were better placed for advancement. Abuses still occurred in many schools as regards in misappropriation of charities designed to help the poor. School managers often allowed higher fee payers greater amounts of the teacher's time, thereby excluding the charity scholars from instruction and placing such schools "on a footing designed to exclude the poor."[96] The charity was collected regardless of whether the poor were taught anything at all.

The problem of attendance plagued the town schools as well as those of the country, and the clergy went to great lengths to impress upon parents the duty owed to God and industry in the regularized sending of children to day and Sunday school. The Rev. J.F. Serjeant, curate of St. George's in Douglas, urged the congregation to school its children in the following manner:

> We know that half the misery of the world is caused by idleness, and we are anxious to train your children to such habits as that they shall escape the evils into which others have fallen ....
> Your little boys tell you very plainly that they won't go to school and your eldest girl will act upon the negro's maxim "The more massa call the more I won't come." God had given you a home to rule and children to train, and let it be your solemn resolution that with every inmate of your home, your word shall be law.97

The Rev. J.T. Clarke even expended "several hundred pounds" upon building roads in his parish "for the encouragement of his people to attend public worship of God, and to send their children to the daily and Sunday schools," as evidenced in a petition of 1854 for the provision of a schoolhouse to house one hundred scholars, and a teacherage for the master.[98]

But despite such urgings by the clergy, schooling did not encompass the entire "rising generation of the poor." Part of the problem may have been a result of a large influx of non-natives from England, making a dead letter of the old ways because of the lack of enforcement of the discipline with regard to schooling -- a point noted by Cumming.[99] With the ease and constancy of communication with the mainland, insular ways were open to both positive and negative influences. But the other part of the problem may have been the apparent imbalance of the Imperial grant system -- aided by the 1851 Act -- and the sheer caprice of the committees in charge of the schools. The former permitted a weighting of grants in favour of the Anglican National schools in Man: according to the report of the Newcastle Commission of 1861, in 1858 the Manx National schools received £2,073 5s 0d in aid, while the Wesleyan schools received only £109 0s 0d; no other schools -- British, Roman Catholic, Congregational or otherwise -- apparently received anything.[100] Certainly, there were more National schools than Wesleyan in operation, but there were approximately ten percent of the Manx children attending Wesleyan schools, and yet incoming money -- either from Imperial or private sources -- was not ten percent of that received by the major group. Disadvantage had to accrue at some point in the provision of education.

Insecurity and Control 1850-65

The above point cited -- that of committee caprice -- is perhaps well exemplified by the Ramsey Wesleyan Day School, which closed its doors in 1853 because of the withdrawal of support, financially, from the Battersea-trained master; the committee was unwilling to keep the school open because of costs, despite the good reports of teaching by the master. This suggests a certain amount of instabilityin Methodist schooling. As the Sun observed, Methodistic patronage of the school was unstable, the Methodists not being able to compete on the same terms as the National

Society, since the latter had the backing of the insular establishment, from the Lieutenant-Governor to the land owners.[101]

But instability was not confined to the Methodist schools; the Castletown National Schools experienced direct interference by Whitehall in 1858 with the suspension of grants for the continuance of the pupil-teacher program in both the Boys and Girls' school because of the non-certification of the teachers, a Mr. Kay and a Miss Reid. The managers desired to have no quarrel with the H.M.I.'s and the Committee of Council and accordingly dismissed Kay and Reid, although Kay had served competently in the school since 1843. The acting master and mistress (both mainland-trained, at Cheltenham and Warrington) were promoted and given increased stipends. The Imperial grants then continued as before. Incidentally, there was a gross imbalance between the sexes and between acting master and mistress in remuneration: Kay received £43 16s 8d as master, while his female equivalent received £13 16s 2½d; the acting masters received £15 13 7d and £3 2s 10d each, while the acting mistresses received £8 17s 2½d and £8 4s 0d.[102]

Whitehall had its way despite the fact that no fault had been found with Kay's and Reid's teaching. But it insisted upon the installation of teachers who were qualified to handle the pupil-teacher component in their duties as master and mistress and used the threat of closed purse strings to achieve it ends. Moseley's recommendations for the alignment of Manx schooling with that of the mainland were being carried out. The Manx trustees and managers offered little opposition, even in cases where dismissal was blatantly unjust; acquiescence was their response.

Control of schooling had now devolved, in no uncertain manner, upon Whitehall and the sacrifice of "non-regulation" teachers was undertaken with no qualms by the agents of that body. The Imperial hand had but to tighten the purse strings to bring obedience from the Manx committees, and indeed, the Manx had been favourably treated by Whitehall if comparisons are made with other areas around the British Isles. The Newcastle Report disclosed that some £14,113 had been disbursed in the Isle of Man between 1833 and 1859. During the same period, the Channel Isles (with a population nearly twice as large -- 90,739 as against Man's 52,387) received only 50 percent of Man's allotment: £7,806. Westmoreland, with a comparable population to Man's of 58,287, received £8,560, while Carmarthen, in receiving almost the same amount as Man (£14, 464) had a population which was more than double.[103]

A possible explanation for this favourable treatment since 1833 may well have been the "new colonial status" ascribed to Man during the 1840's and 1850's -- especially after 1853. This, with the recognizable progress of anglicization, may have made Whitehall more willing to help underwrite education in what now appeared as an extension of the Lancashire jurisdiction or sphere of educational influence. This it certainly was as far as H.M. Inspectors were concerned. Also, the tradition role of the Church in Man, struggling to support its parochial schools by alliance with the National Society, could not have been detrimental in the lending of establishment weight to Anglican/Imperial interests in the island. However, much of this can only be conjecture, and it may just possibly be that Man was quite simply more impoverished than the other areas with which it has been compared, and was therefore regarded as more deserving of Imperial aid, subject to Imperial control. However, it is certainly a fact that Man continued to receive Imperial Government aid in increasing proportion until 1861-2, the beginning of Lowe's Revised Code era: in 1859, the island received £1,469, in 1860, £1,649, in 1861, £2,088 and in 1862, £2,001. This was the high water mark not only for aid to Man, but for educational grants in general, which totalled £800,000 in 1861, Man receiving 0.26 percent of the total amount in that year.[104] From this point onwards, the Manx percentage declined in accordance with Robert Lowe's "cheap or efficient" policy, the island receiving £1,888 in 1863, with decreasing amounts until the late 1860's.

No matter how it is viewed, the financial ties were binding to a considerable extent, with the net result of a dramatic loss of indigenous control over schooling. This was seemingly of little concern to the Manx Church or to the Manx middle class, and only the old, non-mainland trained teachers and the Manx poor may have had cause for regret.

H.M.I. Kennedy: A Report and the Shape of Things to Come, 1855

By way of concluding this initial stage of Imperial governmental inroads in the developing Manx educational milieu, it would be well to examine the report of an Anglican H.M.I., the Rev. W.J. Kennedy, who, as the chief British governmental agent for the County of Lancaster and the Isle of Man, conducted yet another inquiry for Whitehall on the general lines of his co-religionist, Canon Moseley. His General Report for 1855 -- although not as thorough as Moseley's -- nevertheless is enlightening in a number of aspects, not the least of which being its excellent grasp of the situation in Man.

Kennedy's views of popular education in Lancashire and Man were positive. He expressed the opinion that there was considerable improvement in educational standards in the two districts, namely because of a better supply of educated and competently-trained teachers -- the result of a new attitude in education which had not been present twenty years before. Indeed, he condemned the National teachers of that era (1853) as being "careless and slovenly both about their own person and the schoolroom." His condemnation of the lingering monitorial system in Man is humorous but revealing. Small, ill-placed, shapeless classes, existed under the charge of a tribe of little monitors, "between whom and their weary charges there was a constant squabbling," while the master "in serene tranquility, mended pens at his desk," and periodically made "sudden stentorian threatenings" or smacked the desk with his cane.[105] In fact, the monitorial system had fallen into disrepute everywhere and was eclipsed in England by the student-teacher model or work-delegation and teaching, Robert Stow's "simultaneous" (or class teaching in the modern sense) being the underlying approach to the whole question of classroom management. Such schools also operated in Man.

The schools which Kennedy inspected presented a "most pleasing contrast to the painful abodes of noise and dirt, idleness and ignorance which were called National schools some twenty years ago," and, as he observed:

> We now see ... well arranged classes, each under the charge of the master, or the assistant master, or an apprentice, with its own blackboard and map, and piles of clean and good books, all ready at hand for use.106

Cleanliness, tidyness and order had taken the place of dirt, slovenliness and confusion, or so he assured the Lords of the Committee; and a uniform obedience and reverence had displaced the once-evident quarrelling, disrespect and sullenness. The new attitudes had produced an excellent moral effect upon the children, he opined, and new standards were what Whitehall wanted. However, some rural parishes had not fulfilled expectation, despite an ample and judicious expenditure of money and attention; the children in these areas remained "uncouth, unthinking," and were little more than an "uncultivated race."[107] Things had always been this way, thought Kennedy, a result of differences of race and breeding in different localities. By inference, one must conclude that parts of the island harboured such undesirable specimens, probably where the old customs still lingered on, hand in hand with the old language. As such, schooling still had a difficult task to accomplish -- the gentling of the uncouth and uncultivated.

But perhaps Kennedy's most astute observation of the National schools in his districts concerns what may be termed "fact-loading." In Benthamite fashion, the children were being crammed with facts, under the assumption that the more facts one mastered, the better one was educated. This, he felt, was wrong: the aim should have been to provide a child with power to acquire knowledge:

> We should not load him with facts about common or uncommon things, but develop, be some well-chosen studies, his understanding and his thinking faculties. I fear that at present, even in our better schools, our National school boy skims over too many things, that all is too superficial with him and made too easy for him.[108]

Such superficiality and subject-skimming were not ways to develop intellectual study and the "trials and struggles and fierce persevering battles of the mind with intellectual difficulties, out of which combats alone issues that intellectual being who ... feels that he has attained a certain elevation from which he can never be displaced."[109] All well and good perhaps, for the boy at a private academy, a grammar school or a public school, but for the boy in a common school, where functional literacy was the object of most intellectual endeavour, Kennedy was over-hopeful. Thinkers on the factory floors, in the mines or in the fields were not wanted by the middle class, the controllers of education. However, Kennedy had seen the products of the monitorial schools over the past two decades; they emerged from such schools imbued with Gradgrindian facts under the guidance of M'Choakumchild-type pedagogues, were functionally literate and were leavened with a certain amount of religious knowledge. Anglican "Bitzers" (of Dickens' Hard Times fame) may well have been acceptable products from such institutions, but Kennedy, it is obvious, wanted more for the working class child. Indeed, he even suggested re-thinking the voluntary system to encompass infant, elementary and secondary schools for the working class, something which did not happen for some time in the future. But one cannot deprecate Kennedy's enthusiasm, even if one looks askance at his naivety; he did want betterment for the youth of the working class in Lancashire and the Isle of Man, which is commendable.

Kennedy also examined numerous endowed schools within his jurisdiction and cited those of Peel as being typical. They were struggling with trusts no longer adapted to their present needs and circumstances and were labouring under out-moded management schemes. But these abuses were not as important as that which he attributed to sectarianism in Man and Lancashire. The former had seen grants drawn into an area of religious rivalry, producing an excessive number of schools in some districts, while a lack of competition often produced a dearth of schools where conditions warranted several.

But Kennedy's final proposal of relieving officers for the educational needs of the poor, and of compulsory legislation for all children to attend school, show how important the whole question of the effective provision of education was becoming, in the Isle of Man and on the mainland. Indeed, Kennedy may have been typical of the breed of H.M.I's of Moseley's era, recognizing that government intervention could be extended and amplified for the benefit of Church and country as a whole.[110] Certainly, the issues which Kennedy highlighted in this pre-Newcastle Commission report were to prove troublesome in Man for the next half-century, and it is to these aspects of schooling -- in conjunction with the struggle for increased Manx assertion for greater freedom from Imperial political and economic control -- which one must look in order to comprehend better the fortunes of Manx education to the end of the century.

REFERENCES

[1] **J.E.G. De Montmorency,** State Intervention on English Education (Cambridge: University Press, 1902), pp. 231-2. Prior to this in 1807, Samuel Whitbread had introduced a Poor Law Reform Bill which had included a scheme for the education of the poor on a national scale, by means of parochial schools. Its subsequent division into four bills, on of which has the Bill for Establishing a Plan for the Education of the Poor whereby two years of schooling would be provided for every poor child between the ages of seven and fourteen in the parish schools, was defeated. Mrs Davies Giddy led the opposition to the Bill, claming that such education would be detrimental to the morals and happiness of the poor. (ibid., pp. 219-224.)

[2] **Andrew Irvine,** Reflections on the Education of the Poor (London: Edmund Lloyd, 1815), p. 4. He also stated, when commenting upon the Church's hand in education:

> "This engine, so powerful in operation as the ally of religion and virtue, may become an irresistible instrument of delusion in the hands of infidelity or fanaticism. Our security from danger will, in a great measure, depend upon the promptness of our exertions." (ibid.)

[3] "Mrs. Trimmer on Lancaster's Plan of Education," Edinburgh Review 9 (#17, 1806): 183.

[4] **Ibid.**

[5] **Log Book,** Castletown National School, 1820-50. p. 2. M.M. MS 5668 c. The seven were: Major-General Cuming, Mr. M.R. Quayle, Captain Gelling, Mr. Wilks, the Water Bailiff, Mr. Robert Cuninghame and Mr. Crellin. (ibid., p. 3.)

[6] **Ibid.**

[7] Manks Advertiser March 21, 1822. This read as follows: "Wanted: A Schoolmaster for the School on the National System about to be established in Castletown. Salary £40 Br. per annum." Subscriptions amounted to 140 half-yearly, from the better classes. The committee and the treasurer directed the master and the running of the school "at all times."

[8] **Ibid.** February 8, 1823 saw him request 800 pencils, a "barrell of coal," tin badges and a dozen framed slates. In March, he requested 60 tin pencil cases.

[9] **Ibid.**, pp 30-31.

[10] **Nigel Middleton and Sophia Weitzman,** A Place for Everyone (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1976), p. 31.

[11] **Joseph Addisson,** The Guardian #105, Saturday July 11, 1713.

[12] **Letter,** Manks Advertiser, August 31, 1820.

[13] **Ibid.**

[14] **Sermon, Rev. Benjamin Philpott**, St. George's Chapel, Douglas, Manks Advertiser, August 9, 1827.

[15] **Ibid.**

[16] Manks Advertiser, September 14, 1830.

[17] See: The Rising Sun, January 2, May 13, November 14, 1823; July 7, 1825; June 8, 1826.

[18] **Ibid.**, January 20, 1824.

[19] **Poster**, Christ Church School, July, 1834. M.M. MS D426 1x.

[20] **Petition**, Parochial Schoolmasters. Letter Book #2 of James McCruac, Agent to the Crown. M.M. MS 1980 c.

[21] **Letter**, Manks Advertiser, July 8, 1834.

[22] **John Quine**, The Captain of the Parish (London: William Heinemann, 1897), p. 233.

[23] Manx Sun, December 16, 1836.

[24] See: **L.S. Garrad**, "Catherine Halsall's School, Castletown, and the Finigan Family," JMN 7 (#82 1966): 41-43.

[25] Isle of Man Charities (Liverpool: D. Marples, 1831), pp. 68-129; and Joseph Train, An Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (Douglas: Mary Quiggin, 1845), vol. 2, pp. 264-270.

[26] **Ibid.**, p. 69 and p. 264 respectively.

[27] **Anne Harrison**, "The Mathematical School, Peel," JMN 7 (#88 1976): 214.

[28] All funds were dedicated to the master's salary. Nothing in the endowment had been set aside for building repairs and the trustees did not interfere in any way. (ibid.).

[29] Pigot and Company's Directory 1824 (London: Pigot and Company, 1824), p. 193. It also mentions that the Catholics, Independents and Seceders each had a chapel in Douglas, indicating increasing religious diversification and tolerance. The Rev. James Anderson, writing in 1825, stated that persecution for the sake of religion was almost unknown on the island, and that there was little opposition for any dissenter. (James Rosser, The History of Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man (Douglas: Mary Quiggin, 1849), p. 156.)

[30] **Rosser**, Methodism, p. 159. The total number of Methodists in Man at this time was approximately three thousand. The Primitive Methodists gathering strength after the arrival of John Butcher, from Bolton, in 1823. Methodist numbers rarely fell below the three thousand level after 1843, thereby constituting some 5-6 percent of the population.

[31] **Member of the Manx Church,** "The Church in the Isle of Man," Fraser's Magazine, May 21, 1840, p. 559. This claim is not substantiated by Rosser's figures, calculated in 1844.

[32] **A.W. Moore,** A History of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900; reprint ed., Manx Museum and National Trust, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 664-5. The plea, in part, read as follows.

> "We are confident that if your Lordship witnessed the indigent circumstances of the people, and beheld ... many of the peasantry unable to obtain employment or procure food for themselves or their families, and a large proportion of the Land-holders emigrating to distant countries to procure the necessaries of life, your Lordship would concur ... that this unquestionably is no time for the rigorous enactment of dues, whether civil or ecclesiastical". (ibid.).

[33] **Ibid.,** p. 665.

[34] See: "An Act for the Commutation of Tithes in the Isle of Man, 1839," Statutes of the Isle of Man vol. 2, 1825-59 (Douglas: Brown and Son, 1886), pp. 114-123. The Anglican Church in England also was the subject of reform, with the Ecclesiastical Commission of 1836 setting up the Tithe Commission to work out suitable patterns of taxes from the abused in bishoprics and parishes. The Registrar General's office took over the traditional role of the parish in registering births, deaths and marriages.

Utilitarianism, as utilized by Lord Melbourne's Whigs [illegible] revamping the secular side of the Church and these ideas trans[illegible]selves into the Manx situation of 1839. The Bishop of Man i[illegible]cally, received £1,515, fourteen vicars received £141 8 0 each, while the rectors of Andreas, Bride and Eallaugh received £707, £303 and £303 each respectively. The Crown claimed the rest.

[35] **T.E. Brown,** "The Pazons," The Collected Poems of T.E. Brown (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1900), pp. 28-30.

[36] **Member,** "Church in the Isle of Man," pp. 557-8.

[37] **Ibid.,** p. 567.

[38] Rosser, Methodism, pp. 194-5. This included an infant school of 40 children in Douglas; infant schools were becoming numerous under the Anglican resurgence. As one poster of 1851 stated in its appeal for an infant school in Castletown:

> "That such a school will be of benefit to the Town, who can doubt; the early training of the little ones in our midst must have a beneficial effect upon the community at large, and while it is a blessing to the little ones to be taught, it is no less a benefit to the parents in enabling them to pursue more unremittingly their daily calling." (Appeal, 1851. M.M. MS D 426 1x)

[39] "It is plain ... that the great and steady revival to catholic truth, which has been for some years, and is now, solidly marching on in England, has not yet reached the shores of the Isle of Man; yet there can be little doubt but that the better change which has come over an increasing section of the clergy in England, will, sooner or later, reach the Isle of Man and the conversion to higher Church views and principles will be as uniform and as general as in England and draw within its vortex many Dissenters and Churchmen alike." (Member, "Church in the Isle of Man," p. 567.)

[40] Manx Sun, August 24, 1850.

[41] T.A. Bawden, L.S. Garrad, J.K. Qualtrough and J.W. Scatchard, Industrial Archaeology of the Isle of Man (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, pp. 100-101.

[42] Moore, History, p. 574.

[43] Smelt asked for information concerning schools in Jersey, Nova Scotia and the Canadas and London. See: E.C. Owen, A Hundred Years of Education: King William's College, Isle of Man 1830-1930 (Douglas: Brown and Sons, 1930), p. 30. Also see: Felicity Cain, "King William's College -- 150 Years On," Manx Life, March/April 1983, pp. 23-33.

[44] Letter, 1830. "To the Trustees of the Academic Fund on the Expediency and Importance of Establishing a School of Navigation as a Branch of the Projected College in the Isle of Man." Sir William Hillary, Douglas, 1830, in Preservation of Life from Shipwreck and Grand Central Harbour, Isle of Man (Douglas: G. Jefferson, undated), p. 11.

[45] "An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the Isle of Man in Behalf of the Manks College." M.M. MS 165 D. Every person was urged to give a shilling, with the promise that "the edifice, when completed, will long remain a gem of purest ray serene to ornament our shores and shed a lustre over the whole land." See also: Statutes vol. 2, pp. 103-5 (Bishop Wilson's Charity).

[46] Member, "Church in the Isle of Man," p. 560. Also: Rev. J.G. Cumming, The Isle of Man: Its History, Physical, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Legendary (London: John Van Voorst, 1848), pp. 300-301.

[47] In 1831, Douglas had a population of 6,776, Castletown 2,062 and Ramsey 1,754. These figures rose to 8,647, 2,283 and 2,104 respectively in 1841.

[48] For elaboration of this issue, see: Robert Bell and Nigel Grant, Patterns of Education in the British Isles (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1977), pp. 136-9 and pp. 21, 112.

[49] The following shows the totals of revenues and expenditures for eight periods of time, 1765-1866. The surplus for each period can be seen to climb steadily after the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

Years	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus
1776-1795	92,222	123,222	23,000
1796-1805	79,877	56,877	96,120
1806-1815	156,120	60,000	96,120
1816-1825	194,350	64,840	129,520
1826-1835	225,800	91,081	134,719
1836-1845	234,960	98,840	136,120
1846-1855	268,190	141,680	126,510
1856-1866	327,220	182,380	144,840
Total	£ 1,578,739	£ 818,920	£790,819

From: **Moore,** History vol. 2., p. 648.

[50] The wording of the vote was as follows:

> "That a sum not exceeding Twenty thousand pounds be granted to his Majesty, to be issued in aid of Private Subscriptions for the Erection of School Houses, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain ...." (Commons Journal, vol. 88, pp. 692-3.)

Since the Isle of Man was now a part of Great Britain, it was able to partake of any grant designated to its use.

[51] **Letter,** Kay-Shuttleworth to Rev. J.T. Clarke in William Harrison, Records of St. Mark's Chapel in the Parish of Malew, Isle of Man (Douglas: Manx Society, 1878), p. 60.

[52] **Letter,** W.J. Kennedy to Rev. J.T. Clarke, Ibid., pp. 61-63. Kennedy was the Secretary to the National Society.

[53] **Moore,** Sodor and Man (London: S.P.C.K., 1893), p. 268.

[54] Royal Grant to Increase Stipends of Poor Clergymen and Schoolmasters in the Isle of Man. M.M. MS 5285/26

[55] **Harrison,** "Mathematical School," p. 214.

[56] **Nancy Ball,** "Elementary School Attendance and Voluntary Effort before 1870," History of Education 2 (#1 1973): 19.

[57] Kay-Shuttleworth's "Queen's Scholarships" were part of this new scheme to see improved and better-paid teachers find their way into elementary schools. Pupil teachers had to be thirteen - sixteen years of age and had to pass an annual examination given by inspectors. The teacher-advisor was paid by the Government for his master-apprenticeship services.

[58] **Rev. H. Moseley,** Report on the Parochial Schools of the Isle of Man (Douglas: 1847), p. 8.

[59] **Brown,** "The Schoolmaster," Poems, p. 498. The Methodist Clukish could, however, "taech" when he had to:
"Taechin'! What was there he couldn' taech?
Bless ye! aye, and powerful to praech
In the chapel; but taechin'! Mensuration --
Trigonomojough! Navigation!
Aw splendid! Taech it? like a bird!
But ye couldn' understand a word.
(ibid.)

[60] **Moseley,** Report, pp. 8-9.

[61] **Ibid.,** pp. 12-13.

[62] **Ibid.,** p. 15.

[63] **Ibid.,** p. 18.

[64] **Ibid.,** p. 19.

[65] The Teachers to the Committee of the Isle of Man Educational Library, A Statistical View of the State of Education in the Isle of Man (Douglas, P. Curphey, 1847).

[66] **Horace Mann,** Education, England and Wales. Report and Tables (Census of Great Britain, 1851) (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1854), p. xxxii, Table 4: Subjects of Instruction.

[67] Manx Sun, August 2, 1845. The master of this school received £20 for instructing 25 free scholars, under the terms of the endowment, with a house valued at £10 per year. All students -- free and fee-payers -- had been instructed in the same room until the 1840's.

[68] **Peter Laslett,** The World We Have Lost (London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1979).

[69] **Moseley,** Report, p. 18.

[70] **Ibid.,** p. 16. Actually, it was 1 in 17.4 if the 1841 census figures are used. If 50,000 is taken to be the insular population of 1847, then 1 in 18 is correct, given the returns available.

[71] The census disclosed that of 4.9 million between the ages of 3 and 15, almost a million between the ages of 5 and 12 (the traditional ages for elementary schooling) attended no school at all. A further 1.2 million were excused from Mann's figures because of domestic education, illness or occupation, "learning a residue of 3,663,261 with respect to whom there is apparently no reason other than parent's pleasure why they should not be a school." (Mann, Education Census, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii).

[72] **E.W. Corlett,** "The Development of Education in the Isle of Man" (M. Ed. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1931), pp. 32-33.

[73] **Horace Mann,** Education Census, p. cxix.

[74] Manx Sun, February 21, 1849.

[75] **Ibid.,** February 28, 1849.

[76] **Ibid.,** January 17, 1846.

[77] **Moseley,** Report, p. 18.

[78] **Ibid.,** p. 8.

[79] "On Being Under the British Government Scheme of Education," Manx Sun, October 18, 1848.

[80] **Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth,** Four Periods of Public Education (London: Longman and Company, 1862), p. 313.

[81] **I.M. Killip,** "Unwillingly to School," JMN 6 (#76 1959-60): 94.

[82] **Ibid.**

[83] **J.B. O'Brien,** "Popular Ignorance the Stronghold of Tyrants," The National Reformer and Manx Weekly Review of Home and Foreign Affairs October 10, 1846.

[84] **Ibid.,** October 3 and October 10, 1846.

[85] "Government Education," Chamber's Edinburgh Journal 7 (1847): 297.

[86] Manx Sun, January 29, 1848.

[87] **Editorial,** "By Whom and What Shall the People Be Taught?" Manx Sun, March 20, 1847.

[88] Each decade, from 1816 to 1845, has seen an average of £135,000 surplus kept by the Treasury, with revenues averaging £230,000 and expenditures only averaging £98,000. (see Appendix I)

[89] **James Cowin,** Reminiscences of Notable Douglas Citizens and a Review of Manx Men and Manners 50 Years Ago (Douglas: Clucas and Fargher, 1902), p. 26.

[90] "An Act for Making Better Provision for Parochial and Other Schoolmasters, and for Making Further Regulations for the Better Government of the Parochial and Other Schools in the Isle of Man," (1851) Statutes vol. 2, pp. 274-7. Also: M.M.MS 3713/10x. Previous to the passing of this Act, the customary obligation on a parish was considered to be the maintenance of one school building in each parish.

[91] Manx Sun, July 17, 1852.

[92] In an educational paper written by two mainland school masters in 1851, it was stated that "any poor lame, deaf, decrepit or broken-fortuned man who was likely to require a share of the poor rates was considered for the office of schoolmaster ..." and:

> "It is folly to suppose young men will be induces to apply their talents to the numerous requirements laid down by the Government, unless more is done to enhance their pay. They can easily get into the drapery or other respectable employment, att a salary of £30, £30 or £50 per annum with board; while the poor schoolmaster, with his arduous duties, is only offered £20 or £30 per year without board," (C.K. Francis Brown, The Church's Part in Education 1833-1941 (London: S. P. C. K., 1942), pp. 10-11.)

[93] **Killip,** "Unwillingly," p. 95.

[94] **Cowin,** Reminiscences, p. 26.

[95] **Cumming,** Isle of Man, p. 315.

[96] "Charity Schools and Their Abuses," Manx Sun, August 23, 1851.

[97] **Rev. J.F. Serjeant.** Address to Parents, 1851 (Douglas: R.H. Johnson, 1851), pp. 3 and 9. M.M. MS D426/1/3 (4).

[98] **Harrison,** Records, p. 70.

[99] **Cumming,** Isle of Man, p. 334.

[100] British Parliamentary Papers, 19 vols. Session 5 February-6 August. Report of the Commissions on the State of Popular Education in England (Newcastle Report) (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1861), p. 584.

[101] Manx Sun, February 12, 1853.

[102] Annual Report, Castletown National Schools, July, 1858. M.M. MS D426 1x. The total expenses of the schools amounted to £308 18s 8½d with books and apparatus accounting for £7 2s 8½d (2.2 percent). Fuel and lights £2 5s 8½d (0.6 percent) and repairs £10 14s 7d. (3.5 percent). Income matched expenses and came from school pence, donations, Committee of Council grants, Royal Bounty, Impropriate Fund and subscriptions.

[103] Newcastle Report, p. 585. For further comparison as regards Sunday schools, Man had the following:

Anglican : 30 Scholars: 2,435 (1,171 male; 1,264 female)
Wesleyan : 36 Scholars: 3,130 (1,494 male; 1,636 female)

Westmoreland (all faiths) had 169 schools, with 6,612 scholars. It is interesting to note that the Manx nonconformists outranked the Anglicans by a ratio of 4 to 3 in Sunday schooling at this time (1861), an indication, perhaps, of greater Sunday cohesiveness and sectarian duty than the Anglicans demonstrated. Man also had two evening schools with 73 students (39 males, 34 females); Angelsey had a similar amount -- two schools with 64 students. (ibid.)

[104] Mona's Herald, May 11, 1864.

[105] **Rev. W.J. Kennedy,** "General Report for the Year 1855 on the Schools Inspected in the County of Lancaster and in the Isle of Man," Minutes of Committee of Council in Education: Reports by H.M.I. of Schools. 1855-56 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1856), pp. 353-4.

[106] **Ibid.,** p. 354.

[107] **Ibid.,** p. 355.

[108] **Ibid.,** p. 357.

[109] **Ibid.**

[110] **Ibid.,** pp. 368-70.

CHAPTER VI

1860 - 1914; POLITICAL REFORM AND THE CHALLENGE TO IMPERIAL CONTROL: THE 1872 ACT AND ITS AFTERMATH — AN EXERCISE IN BALKANIZATION

A Taste of Democracy: The Keys. Reform and the Question of Education in the 'Sixties

The Manx push for greater elements of home rule gathered considerable strength in 1861 with the founding of the Isle of Man Times by the reformer James Brown. This paper sought specifically to promote the political reform of the House of Keys, an institution which, in its traditionally undemocratic state, was regarded as a major stumbling block in the path of home rule. The problem with demanding home rule -- apart from the reluctance of the Imperial Government to relinquish control of the island to the natives -- was the fact that should home rule be granted to Man, major political and economic control would devolve upon a non-representative. self-elected body. Brown, in 1864, therefore challenged the Keys to reform themselves in the cause of home rule for such contempt, he was summoned to the bar of the Keys to answer questions by the indignant Members of the House. After refusing to withdraw his assertions, he was committed to Castle Rushen gaol for six months.

An appeal to the Queen's Bench (the Privy Council) eventually released Brown, presenting a nationalist martyr to the Manx people. A political storm ensued which embroiled the Lieutenant-Governor, Henry Brougham Loch (later Lord Loch), a reform-minded Manx sympathiser who realized that the island's future prosperity depended upon developing trade and the holiday traffic. But trade and traffic were hampered by the lack of proper facilities; the island needed modern harbours for the docking of ships, and although some forty thousand visitors arrived in Man in 1851 alone, there was no proper landing stage onto which they could disembark.[1]

Loch, as the Imperial representative in Man, declared that the urgently-needed capital could only be obtained on condition that the self-elected Keys voted themselves out of existence. Brown and his associates meanwhile proved that the House of Keys was an ancient, elected body, and that as it existed in 1864, it usurped the public rights of the Manx people. Accordingly, a law suit against the delinquent Keys (decided in the Isle of Man Common Law Court) found against them and awarded Brown £518 damages and costs.[2]

After the Manx people had petitioned Westminster for the reform of the Keys the Keys capitulated.

In 1865, Loch had submitted proposals for a restructuring of the Home Office - Treasury - Tynwald arrangement concerning increasing customs tariffs for disposal by the insular government, subject to the democratization of the Keys. The treasury agreed to the proposals and Parliament passed the Isle of Man Customs, Harbours and Public Purposes Act (1866). The Manx responded with the House of Keys election Act. The former Act ensured that the Manx harbours were to remain under Imperial control, one-ninth of the Manx customs revenues were ear-marked for harbour improvements and public works (with Tynwald determining what these should be), the English exchequer retaining the revenues of the Crown lands and properties, with the Crown remaining responsible for the government and administration of the judiciary, law officers and police (the "reserved services"). In addition, £10,000 per annum was paid to the English exchequer for covering a portion of the military and naval defence of the island, while surplus customs revenue, as determined by the Treasury, was to be applied by the exchequer as Tynwald determined -- the "voted services" -- with the governor having a veto. This latter situation was to continue until 1958, when the island finally secured complete control of its internal expenditure. The Imperial Parliament retained the right to legislate for the island on any matter, since the Manx were "enjoying the privileges of British citizenship without its burdens."

A.W. Moore observed, this new arrangement with Westminster gave the Manx "home rule with pleasure," while D.G. Kermode has labelled it the "myth of home rule," the laudatory title of Spencer Walpole's book, The Land of Home Rule not withstanding.[3] At any rate, a measure of home rule had been achieved -- which had not even been accorded the Irish -- and the island, as a technical possession of the Crown and not Britain proper, looked forward to a period of better relations with Westminster. Indeed, as the century progressed, the Imperial Parliament permitted further power to devolve upon Tynwald: the control of harbours was relinquished in 1872 and so too were Church temporalities in 1878. And as part and parcel of this new-found power of self-government came the duty of the provision of elementary education, on a footing distinct from and yet linked with the mainland.

The House of Keys Election Act of 1866 provided the Manx with the long-awaited democratic reforms necessary to implement educational measures when the time came. Timing for such eventualities could not have been better, since such social legislation was imminent in England as well as in Man. The Act provided each of the six sheadings (the electoral districts of Rushen, Middle, Glenfaba, Garff, Michael and Ayre) with three members, while Douglas received three and Peel, Ramsey and Castletown received one member, making a total of twenty-four Keys. The franchise was given to all males over the age of twenty-one who were £8 occupiers in towns.[4] A representative House was thus given to the Manx. The Lord's Council, however, still consisted of appointed members, i.e., the Bishop, the Attorney-general, two Deemsters, the Archdeacon, the Receiver General and the Vicar General. The Lieutenant-Governor presided over Council and Keys and controlled the insular police and military forces, as well as the appointing of civil officers, the recommending of personnel to Crown livings, the nominating of justices and Captains of Parishes and the pardoning of criminal offenders (all of which he still does). The Council, however, as an oligarchic body beholden to the Governor, did the bidding of the Crown and Westminster. In this capacity, it was able to thwart any Keys-sponsored measure which it chose, and it was not until 1919 and 1957 that further reform was to remedy the Council veto.[5]

But if the Manx now had "home rule with pleasure," they found themselves locked into the English scheme of things educationally with the Revised Code. Partly as a result of escalating government grants and partly as a result of the findings of recruitment during the Crimean War, the Newcastle Commission (1858) inquired into the possibility of extending sound and cheap elementary instruction. Accountability for money spent (£800,000 in 1861 and £14,143 in the Isle of Man, 1833-59) spurred Robert Lowe, vice president of the Committee of Council, to introduce a narrow scheme of "payment by results," whereby grants were to be conditional upon the proficiency of the children in the 3 R's as individually tested by H.M.I.'s. School managers received the grants and negotiated salaries with the teachers. There were to be six standards, or grade levels, for presentation, with every child over the age of six bei~~ng able~~ to earn a grant of 4 shillings for attendance and 8 shillings for examination. Failure to satisfy the inspector resulted in the withholding of 2s 8d for each of the 3 R's deemed unsatisfactory.

The general results were supposed to be beneficial to all in the strictest of utilitarian senses: literacy and attendance were to have improved under the threat of financial disqualification. In actuality, rote learning increased in order to "cram" the pupils through the H.M.I.'s examinations and the falsification of registers was commonplace. As T.H. Huxley observed, by the simple process of refusing to pay for many kinds of teaching, payment by results practically put an end to all things other than the 3 R's; even religious instruction waned as inspection time approached.[6]

Training colleges were adversely affected by diminished grants, fewer students and lowers standards. Schools dealing with poor children in large classes were similarly hurt and the numbers of pupil-teachers dropped in the elementay schools. Matthew Arnold condemned the scheme, as did Edward Thring, since it placed attitudes and pedagogy in straight-jackets which were evident well into the next century, despite modification thereafter and the final demise of the system in the 1890's.

The Revised Code became part of the Manx educational scenario with all its attendant strictures and rationale, simply because of the dependence of Manx elementary schools -- both Anglican and Methodist -- upon English Education Department grants. Once again, Man was England writ small, and all Manx schools receiving Imperial Aid were obliged to conform to the tenets of the Code out of sheer necessity.

But if the Code of 1862 had settled itself upon Whitehall-aligned schools, the question of sectarian rivalry in the face of increasing demands for secular schooling had permeated to the very roots of Manx society. The dispute was further compounded and complicated by such attendant factors as crime and poverty.

Soon after the founding of the Lancashire Public School Association, Manxman and Churchman Canon Hugh Stowell (son of the cleric who ran the Manx language school cited in the 1818 Brougham Inquiry) stumped the north of England speaking against secular instruction, cautioning that religious instruction should be made part and parcel of daily education. It was not merely a thing to be patched and hemmed onto the garment that was woven on a Godless fabric.[7] Numerous fellow-Anglicans felt the same way. The question was -- and remained so until 1870 and beyond -- whether a secular system of education could become a national system, with sectarian education being set aside. Chained to the question were, of course, the relative positions of the Anglican and non-conformist Churches, the secularists and the Government. The latter became increasingly drawn into intervention which pleased some but not others.

Articles and discussions on state intervention in education had figured prominently in the Manx press from the early 1840's, but by the 1860's, the adherents of the National Education League were voicing doom and gloom unless the system was re-organized. Ranged against them were the publicists of religious-based education. This latter group may well have taken as its motto the inscription on the Peel Wesleyan Day School's walls: "The soul without knowledge is not good, but the foundation of all true education is the Holy Scriptures."[8] The Mona's Herald, as one vocal paper, seemed to follow Edward Baines' example of favouring first voluntaryism then changing allegiance to the opposite camp in the same year as Baines' re-alignment, 1867. An editorial in December, 1867, proclaimed that a disposition to promote the education of the masses independently of all connection with religion was an alarming trend; religion offered the answer to literacy and knowledge for the labouring class:

> While we duly appreciate the important advantages which must result to a community for the general diffusion of education among the classes, we ought always to bear in mind that men whose condition is daily labour have very little time to devote to the purposes of mental cultivation. The great problem, therefore, is to discover the species of instruction which will produce the largest sum of good result with the least possible demand of time. Now the

> communication of religious knowledge appears incomparably and undoubtedly the best calculated of any other means that can be devised to this end.[9]

It admitted, in the following year, that "voluntaryists ... as a class ... are well nigh extinct," and perhaps this was true. Certainly it was coming to be seen as an out-moded form of educational provision, even though it was based upon religious principles, for the most part. But literacy, it was increasingly felt, could not afford to be dependent upon a fluctuating climate of goodwill, as David Cressy has pointed out. The state came to be seen as the vehicle for bearing the expense of teaching the people how to become good and useful citizens, "rather than that it could incur the still more enormous expense of punishing them as criminals ...."[10]

The National Education Conference, held at Manchester in January, 1868, saw all creeds try to find a solution concerning the direction of national education, especially since the 1867 Reform Bill had resulted in the Liberals being given office, the working class of the towns looking to this party for leadership. Some nonconformists saw secular, locally-administered education as being a viable solution to things, the telling comment "what we most devoutly wish is that a little of the same spirit will reach us in the island" betraying the climate of dissension still evident in Man.[11] The Keys, meanwhile, reformed and representative, were deliberating the education question as it applied to Man, and with it, the control and content of schooling.

Towards a Manx Education Bill, 1869

Statistics of crime and illiteracy played no small part in the growing conviction that a policy of education for the working class in Man was needed. Of the 842 persons apprehended for sundry crimes in the Isle of Man in 1868, 429 were native Manx people, comprising 312 males and 117 females (the rest of the miscreants being Irish, English, Scottish and Welsh). Educationally, 177 of the Manx male group and 54 of the female group were able to read and write; 30 males and 13 females could read but not write, while 105 males and 52 females were classified as being totally illiterate.[12] This represents almost 37 percent of the apprehended group, the larger general figure of 261 illiterates (Manx included) representing 30 percent of the group, while the number of non-Manx illiterates (104 yields only 25 percent of the non-Manx group of 413. In more specific terms, the total literacy for the Manx group of 429 stood at only 54 percent, hardly an achievement to make the middle class feel complacent about efforts to educate the poor. Indeed, the middle class was becoming increasingly alarmed at the surge in crime and beggary, especially in the towns. These twin affronts to the social conscience were outstripping voluntary efforts to meliorate them, especially in the case of young children:

> The most awful fact of the pauperism and crime in our towns are the little children -- thieves and beggars who have never known that childhood in anything but blows, curses, hunger, starvation, theft and punishment.[13]

These children brought much embarrassment in front of thousands of visitors with their persistent begging and propositioning, and were regarded as a blight upon the Manx social landscape. Douglas, Laxey, Ramsey and Castletown were the centres of this deprivation and harassment. Bands of ragged, filthy children followed vehicles "singing ribald songs and using the most abominable language to visitors" if the visitors did not throw them a few coppers.[14] These children were branded intolerable nuisances, moral pests, the criminals of the future and worse, and the authorities were urged to "put down" this class, either through the extension of the Ragged School (operating in Douglas since 1863), Russell's "Home Mission," or through compulsory education and state reformatories.

These last two solutions found great favour with many middle class Manxmen and English and Scottish immigrants, as the newspapers of this era show.

Imbued with the idea of duty towards the lower orders and the finding of a solution to ignorance, crime and beggary, the Manx bourgeoisie exhibited a full spectrum of sentiments, ranging from compassion -- "the man who can look with indifference upon the future of that child ... and fails to see that he has a duty towards it ... is callous and unfeeling,"[15] -- to righteous indignation:

> Let the Legislature pass a stringent Compulsory Education Bill and immediately the evil is done away with. Instead of a herd of indecent children in our streets, we shall have a host of decent children in our schools. Thus a higher moral tone will be communicated to our social system. If there is a country on the face of God's earth where such a measure is an absolute necessity, that country is assuredly little Mona. Our cry must be a "Compulsory Education Bill for Mona![16]

Indeed, the cry for compulsory education became even stronger with the revelation that rural labourers in the island were "deplorably ignorant of letters, some two thirds of them being unable to write."[17] Servants so deficiently educated, stated the Mona's Herald, could not possibly be of the same value as servants who have received even the rudiments of education. Such illiterates could not even find their place in the Prayer Book (to the horror of their "betters") and were perhaps doubly condemned by the employing class since they also clung tenaciously -- in their native ignorance -- to the Gaelic. As the Rev. William Gill observed, when writing of the decline of spoken Manx, the Manx language was rarely heard in conversation, except among this group:

> Let it not however be thought that its end is immediate. Among the peasantry, it still retains a strong hold. In English, even when they have a fair knowledge of the tongue, they speak with hesitation under restraint. In Manx, they are fluent and at ease. There is little probability, therefore, of them soon forgetting their chengey-ny-mayrey(mother tongue)..[18]

The rural churches had gradually restricted the use of the Gaelic since the 1840's from three Sundays each month to every other Sunday; finally, Gaelic was totally dropped from use. This decline may well have been deliberately contrived by the bi-lingual clergy in the country districts, since as late as 1875, some 12,340 persons spoke both Manx and English, while only 190 spoke Manx alone. There would have been enough justification for continuing services in Manx at least once a month, but this was not to be. The anglicization process was in its final stages as regards language, and, since illiteracy equated itself with the indigenous peasantry who clung to their chengey-ny-mayrey, it was a further incentive to impose, once and for all, a system of education upon the island. This would ensure "value" in servants and labourers, embrace linguistic uniformity, and end escalating crime and pauperism. It would also bring a solution to the problem of the bands of dirty wretches to harassed and propositioned the English tourists (who by this time were visiting the island in numbers which exceeded the population, (the Lancashire workers being joined by Yorkshire woollen workers and pottery craftsmen from the Five Towns) thanks to higher wages, cheaper rail transportation and the benefits of closed factories for set periods of time. The English proletariat from the industrialized north, was now finding its way to Man in increasing numbers. By 1833, a quarter of a million arrived annually; this swelled to half a million holidaymakers in 1895 and 634,500 in 1913. Clearly, the Isle of Man was becoming the "playground of the North" between May and September.[19] But what made Man attractive was that it offered all the pleasures of foreign travel without the annoyance of a foreign language, not to mention strange food and drink, and great distances of travel -- as the Manx tourist posters of the era touted.

All in all, the die was cast for an education measure which was to be a major piece of social legislation for the ending of numerous ills among the lower orders, as perceived by those who were possessed of money, power and notions of duty. Based perhaps upon a sense of obligation, this group -- the middle class -- moved to prescribe for the Manx peasantry such a measure which was to be the cap-stone of educational/cultural manoeuverings from the seventeenth century, covering various waves of charity, voluntaryism, philanthropy and religion. But Church and state had yet to agree to a formula which did not offend nonconformity and cause undue alarm among those were were to pay for the scheme -- the middle class themselves. It was easier said than done.

The middle class itself had begun to feel rather neglected in the educational race which had been gathering momentum from the 1840's. As Lord Loch stated, in a speech at the founding ceremony of the new Ramsey Grammar School, in 1864:

> The aristocracy have had schools and universities and the poor have had national schools to assist them. The result has been that the lower classes are fast gaining upon the middle one, in intellectual and moral culture, and we are called upon to aid and support the efforts for the advancement of the neglected classes. The foundation of grammar schools is a step in the right direction 20

A further step in the buttressing of middle class interest in Man was the amalgamation of Peel Grammar School with the Peel Mathematical School, in 1866. The reasons for this hinged upon the small incomes of the masters, old rivalry and the need for a higher class of school in the Peel district where a good education in classics and mathematics could be provided for fee-payers. The amalgamation facilitated this in an atmosphere of liberalism and protection; new approaches were at hand in the education of the bourgeoisie of Man.

It is hard to say how far these middle class moves were a conscious reaction to the mainland inquiries into the public schools (Clarendon

Commission, 1861-4) and the grammar schools (Schools Inquiry Commission, 1864-8) but certainly they reflected a pacing of middle class prosperity and awareness on the mainland. Schools were being both created and transformed through the work of these mid-Victorian Commissions. Curriculae were up-dated, new standards sought and fresh approaches to education encouraged. Concomitant with all this was the raising of standards by competition, a measure which the Benthamites had long since espoused. Academic competition was found to be every bit as necessary in Man as in England, since Manx youths of this class had to compete with their English counterparts for entry into university, the civil service, Sandhurst, Woolwich or Greenwich or any other career-institution on the mainland. The cult of efficiency had seen payments by results ushered in for the working class in 1862, as, in a very real sense, elementary schools were struggling for grants according to their ability to educate the lower orders to narrow standards of literacy-attainment. But the "neglected class," as Lord Loch chose to label the middle class, obviously felt the need to keep its lead in educational provision, despite its socio-economic interest in bettering the educational standards of the masses beneath it.

Intervention 1869-1872

The middle class was drawn by its own rhetoric and momentum into shaping a scheme of education, a scheme designed by one class for another in the island. Those with means and property would pay for this elementary program, with the benefits, it was reckoned, out-weighing the economic inconveniences. Just as the Liberals under Gladstone were mooting the importance of a new education measure to "fill the gaps," the Manx legislature, staffed by liberals of the same ilk, began in earnest to draft a measure of social intervention which was designed to rid Man of ignorance, juvenile harassment and delinquency, and the last vestiges of the Manx Gaelic language.

> The Absence of the capability of signing a name is deplorably common.
> The future shall not witness a continuance of the existence of an ignorance of the merest elementary knowledge which so generally prevails not merely amongst the young but among the men and women of the towns and country.
> There must be an educational provision for every child of the island.21

Such were the sentiments shown by interventionists, in the late 1860's.

Opposition to state intervention in the provision of such education for the masses centred itself around taxation. This was the one aspect of "free schooling" which hit every pocket book, regardless of the religion of the owner. However, the interventionists countered with an old argument; it was better that money should be paid in support of the prevention of crime, rather than its punishment. Judged in such terms, it came to be seen by many as a question of more schoolmasters and fewer policemen -- the former being more preferable as a "preventive" measure than the cost of punishment and legions of policemen.[22]

The secondary question, also part of the taxation question, was that of the nature of religious instruction. The dissenters were opposed to subsidizing any form of schooling which placed Anglicanism, as a religious formulary, in every schoolroom. And it was this issue which constituted the major stumbling block for inter-religious agreement.

The Education Bill, as the legislature proposed it on November 15, 1869, incorporated compulsory attendance, a 2d rate, lay inspection by the English H.M.I.'s, and appointed managers for the schools, consisting of the vicar, churchwardens and four elected members of the parish. Endowments were to be pooled into one common fund, in order to facilitate fairer disbursement. However, the matter of religion reared its head in no uncertain manner: despite assurances from Tynwald that freedom in religious matters would be taken into account, the stipulation of Anglican control, via the Manx Church, in each school on the island, brought outrage from the dissenters -- who were now in the majority. It was as though nothing had been learned from the furore of Graham's Bill in 1843, which intended Anglican control of all schools within the framework of compulsory education. The dissenters challenged the Tynwald measure as being a contravention of propriety:

> The Manx Bill ... has been the handiwork of someone who desired to make the people of the Isle of Man pay for the teaching of the Creeds and Catechisms of the Episcopal Church.23

Amid fears of Anglican proselytization through the schools, the Bill was suspended at the end of the year. Many Manxmen were cautious of advancing the whole issue before the provisions of the English (Forster's) Education Bill had been learned, and indeed, were fearful of mainland scorn.[24] So, despite the hopes of Lord Loch -- who thought the Bill a "great scheme" for the price of a penny rate increase of £700 a year, and who, as president of Tynwald, declared himself fully satisfied with all aspects of it -- the Bill was scuttled. The Manx were forced to re-think the whole matter.

In March, 1870, the Bill emerged for a second time, this time called the "Amended Education Bill." Once again, it was condemned because of its pronounced Anglican slant: clause 27 stated that in every public elementary school, religious instruction was to be in accordance with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. Naturally, this clause was labelled narrow, partial, grossly unfair and having within it the seeds of further dissension and social unrest. Indeed, the Bishop of Sodor and Man and his Archdeacon were called upon to resign by the editor of the Mona's Herald; their combined £4,000 salaries, it was felt, would then be. ~~more than enough to educate~~ every child on the island.[25]

The nonconformists, as might be expected, condemned it once again, and the farmers joined them, sending a petition to the Keys objecting to the fact that children aged nine to twelve were needed on the farms because of the scarcity of labour. Also, it was felt that four years of age was too young to start school; six was more preferable.

The attempt to regain the control of education in the island for the Manx Church was therefore discerned as a move reminiscent of desires from an earlier age. Lord Loch honestly felt that the Manx Church, as the senior religious organization on the island, was deserving of island-wide educational control. At any rate, the Lord's Council -- a stronghold of Anglicanism and the agency which was attuned to the bidding of Westminster and Whitehall -- was forced to concede defeat. The Bill was halted yet again and Tynwald, in deference to the wishes of the Manx, thought it prudent to wait for the English Bill's emergence in order to see what could be learned from the political adroitness of W.E. Forster.

As it happened, the Imperial Elementary Education Act of 1870 -- probably the most workable piece of compromise legislation in English nineteenth-century history -- raised a howl of protest from the Anglicans, who thought its Cowper-Temple clause (recognizing only non-sectarian religious teaching in the Board schools) would lead to atheism and infidelity. The religious problem had not been fully solved, but it had been dealt with in a pragmatic fashion. The Manx accordingly hoped that Tynwald would emulate Forster's wisdom in the third attempt at placing before the country an education bill which was agreeable to all. Two more years were to elapse however, before Man had equivalent legislation to that which Forster steered through the Imperial parliament. Meanwhile, the mainland forged ahead in its "Board School" era, filling the gaps left by voluntaryism and inaugurating a new climate of local politics and religious jealousy of the non-sectarian boards.

The 1872 Education Act: Its Eventual Emergence and Significance

By way of providing a synoptic picture of elementary and secondary schooling in the Isle of Man at this pre-Board juncture, the statistics prepared for Lord Loch in his attempt to introduce the two ill-fated Bills, 1869-70, are of significant interest.[26] Infant, parochial, dame and National schools accounted for the education of 6,308 children, 235 of whom were under four years of age, while 1,007 (including 101 grammar school pupils) were over twelve (15.7 percent), the age by which most children of the working class had finished their education. Since Man's population in 1871 was 54,042, the total percentage of those receiving elementary-grammar education (excluding King William's College and numerous private-venture establishments) was almost twelve percent, a ratio of 1 in 8.4. This was still some distance away from the 1 in 6 desired by Horace Mann in his survey of England and Wales in 1851, but it was an improvement over previous assessments of the state of Manx schooling. The number of children paying school pence, or quarterages, amounted to 5,638, leaving 771 who were either being educated on the strength of foundations and endowments, or were receiving charity, and therefore paying nothing. This latter group comprised twelve percent of the total group. The other 88 percent -- the quarterage payers -- contributed some £1,662 3 8, an average of approximately 5s per child per year. Interestingly, those attending the Wesleyan and Catholic schools documented (427 children) were nearly all able to pay for their education, while those attending the parochial and National schools in certain areas show a considerable inability to pay fees of any kind, e.g., the parish of Patrick and Ramsey town.

The average number of children per school -- 112 -- shows a considerable enrollment, while the enrollment range (from 311 children at the Laxey Glen National School, to 25 at the Grenaby School) shows the disparity between mining and farming areas. No less than eight schools had enrollments within the 200-pupil range, these all being in the mining and large town areas, such as Foxdale, Douglas and Ramsey. (see Appendix J) An interesting trend revealed by such statistics is the growth of the schools in the mining districts of Laxey and Foxdale; between 1855 and 1880, over one thousand men worked in these mines, which produced large quantities of lead, silver and copper. This was the most prosperous era for mining, the Laxey Mining Company shipping £90,915 worth of ore in 1876 (and its £80 shares sold for £1,200) and the Foxdale mines never exporting less than £40,000 worth of ore per year between 1858 and 1864.[27] After the 1880's, the mining industry declined because of competition from other parts of the world, the miners emigrating to South Africa, Australia, the United States and Canada. Needless to say, the schools declined accordingly in their enrollments.

A second phenomenon of interest revealed in the summary is the percentage of children who stayed on in school beyond the age of twelve: some 15.7 percent of the school population. A possible explanation for this could be that education was being viewed in a better light by some parents, who valued greater literacy, thereby encouraging a longer school-life. It could also denote a later age for starting school in these cases. But since the island's economy was generally in good shape at this time, with mining, shipbuilding, fishing, support services and tourism all moving into new levels of achievement, there was employment for all and little incentive to stay on in school beyond the age of twelve. As such, the phenomenon must be rooted in factors other than economic.

While England set about implementing the 1870 Education Act, creating local school districts under the guidance of locally-elected secular bodies, who built schools to "fill the gaps" left by the voluntary system -- all funded by way of local taxation and the continuing Whitehall grants -- the Manx watched. The insular attitude was that the English may have been too hurried in their legislative enactments and that the imperfections would soon show; revisions would then be made and from this process the Manx could learn much. There was also an element within the island which disliked any idea of the state underwriting any elementary educational measure. This element was perhaps typified by the mentality of "Lord Tom Noddy," an anonymous middle class writer undoubtedly raised on laissez faire and Samuel Smiles' Self Help, who found the working classes "but one step above that portion of the brute creation (the Horse and the Ass) which is most subservient to the needs of man ...."[28] Why bother to educate such creatures, questioned Lord Tom Noddy, and make them dissatisfied with their humble lot? It was an old question, asked in the same tone by Bernard Mandeville in his "Essay on Charity Schools" in 1723. As Mandeville cautioned, the more a shepherd or plowman or any other peasant knew of the world and of things foreign to his labour and employment, the less fit he would be to endure the fatigues and hardships of his ordained lot with cheerfulness and contentment.[29] Indeed Lord Tom Noddy echoed Mandeville's sentiments on the issue offering the following advice to the Manx Government in 1871:

> Let our excellent Governor and our universally esteemed House of Solons hear reason. Let them send the Education Bill to the realms of Pluto; let all further grants for elementary education in this Isle cease; let the £2,000 per annum now appropriated to that purpose be devoted to more objects ... and let the "working classes" henceforth remain in blissful ignorance, or educate themselves with their own money.30

But despite such reasoning from Manx educational Scrooges, the House of

Keys finally proposed an Education Bill which bore close resemblance to that of Forster's. As such, it met with approval by Tynwald on December 6, 1871, and was passed by a vote of fourteen to five. The two most contentious issues were religion and compulsory education, and it was these which were hammered out amid much debate and recrimination.

E.C. Farrant, MHK for Ayre, found the whole notion of compulsion to be an infringement of civil liberties, while W.B. Stevenson led a small group of Anglican MHK's in opposing all that smacked of "Cowper-Temple" religion and its imposition in Manx schools. Of some significance in the passing of the Bill was the Education Commission's Report of November, 1871. The Commission, working as part of the official census of April, showed that a considerable number of Manx children of school age (5-12) attended no school whatsoever. Of 10,244 children in this total group, 4,109 -- or 40 percent -- did not grace the inside of any educational institution at any one time. In the under 5 group, only 599 out of 6,958 attended some form of infant school (9 percent); in the 12-17 group, only 1,176 were in school, while only 31 above the age of 17 were attending. From a total number of 17,202 Manx children aged between 1 and 12, the total number of scholars listed on the books was 7,941 (inclusive of the 12-17+ group), a percentage of 46.[31]

It was clear to Tynwald from the above revelations that the critical school-age group of 5-12 year olds showed a low percentage of attendance: 40 percent was hardly a figure which Tynwald found comforting. W.E. Forster had made attendance the responsibility of individual boards, providing them with enabling powers to enact by-laws for attendance at school for 5-13 year olds, and Tynwald took the cue. The Manx Elementary Act would have some significant differences with its English counterpart but it would also link itself with the code of the Imperial Education Department, thereby ensuring that the hands of Whitehall would continue to be placed upon Manx educational policy. Governor Loch, the Act's principal author, desired it to be so.

Under the terms of the Act (ratified in 1872), in order for an insular school to obtain a government grant, the conditions as laid out by the Education Department in Whitehall had to be met, thereby ensuring Manx conformity to English dictates. The same subjects were to be taught in Man as were taught in England, and Imperial inspection continued to ensure orthodoxy of subject matter and the paralleling of standards, i.e., Manx accountablity for English investment. Every Manx town and parish was immediately constituted as a school board district -- or a School Committee as the Manx termed them. These elected committees were empowered to provide adequate elementary school places immediately. And here was the first major difference with the English Act: no such universal creation of boards took place in England, where the creation of a school board depended upon the supply of school accommodation in a district. If, after due inquiry, the accommodation was found to be deficient, boards were created to supply the necessary schools and eradicate the deficiency. A period of six months was provided whereby every School Committee in the Isle of Man was obliged to ascertain deficiencies and supply remediation -- a second difference with England, since the period of grace there was accorded the voluntaryists first in order to make good the deficiencies, and only after the expiry of this period would Boards be established where needed.

The Manx School Committees were under the central jurisdiction of a Board of Education composed of five persons appointed by Tynwald "from time to time," for a period of three years. The Manx Government thereby assumed a co-responsibility with Whitehall for the direction and governance of schooling, a most significant move in compliance with Imperial wishes and also with a view to future Manx undertakings in educational responsibility for the island.

All children between seven and thirteen years of age were obliged to attend school "for at least such number of times (per year) as may by the minutes of the Education Department for the time being in force in order to entitle a public elementary school to obtain a Government grant for the children ..."[32] If any parent was in contravention of this obligation, a fine of five shillings was to be imposed by the High Bailiff or two Justices for each offence. Here was another important difference with the mainland, which Westminster did not settle until Mundella's Act of 1880 (which enforced full time attendance for children aged five to ten years of age). But unlike the English, the Manx brooked no half-time system of education and employment: it was education first and foremost for the child. Employment followed schooling and did not complement it.

A further difference with the English Act concerned religion. The Cowper-Temple clause permitted the English school boards a choice as to whether or not religious instruction was provided, and, if it was, no catechism or religious formulary associated with any one particular religion was permitted to be taught. As previously noted, this was intended to appease rate-payers and the various religious denominations as well, and it basically side-stepped the thorny religious issue which had plagued English education for decades. In Man, however, the 1872 Act stipulated that provision should be made "for instruction in religious subjects, and for the reading of the Holy Bible, accompanied by such explanation therefrom as may be suited for the capacities of the children."[33] (Roman Catholic schools were to be exempt from this obligation) Regarding this aspect of Manx religiosity, A.W. Moore states: "it may be firmly said that this provision has done much to reconcile the people of the island to a system of undenominational education."[34] Perhaps this is overstating the case: subsequent voluntary school transfers to Board schools -- which Moore cites as evidence to show the efficacy of compulsory religious teaching -- were dependent upon more than just the "confidence of religious content."

Be that as it may, Manx schools did tread firmly where their English counterparts tip-toed, and this particular feature of the 1872 Act placed non-sectarian religion within the hands of the state. It did, however, have adverse effects upon those schools which did not choose to be absorbed by Whitehall and its Tynwald seneschal, as will be seen.

Gratuitous education was provided for by permitting individual School Committees the discretion of paying the fees of any child unable to pay by way of poverty, but totally gratuitous education did not occur until 1892, following the mainland's lead in 1891.[35] E.W. Corlett has pointed out that one curious feature of the 1872 Act was that the Board of Education was authorised to appoint a treasurer -- but such an office was unnecessary, as no money was transferred or paid to the Board: it had credit with the Treasurer of the Manx Government to the extent of the Tynwald Court's annual vote; payments authorised by the Board were paid directly by the Treasury to the Board for disbursement.[36] Insular educational costs were therefore paid partly from Whitehall (which in 1873 advanced £2,137 to Tynwald) and partly from Manx sources (which, in the same year, contributed £3,500), yielding a ratio of approximately 2:3.[37] Almost immediately, the transfer of schools to the authority of the Board of Education began, a procedure which was to range over the next three decades. Regular financial support was the great motivator of what was to become a veritable "flight to the state."

Immediate Effects, 1873-1880

The first transfer to the Board was that of Barregarrow School, followed by Michael School, in 1873. Six others joined them the next year and 1875 saw a further seven transferred from country and town areas: Rushen, Bride, Michael, Lezayre, Maughold and Castletown. The transfers continued in 1877, with the Patrick Parochial School becoming the fifteenth elementary school to join the ranks of the state-supported schools. By 1879, some seventeen schools could be said to be fully under the jurisdiction of the Manx Board of Education and its Whitehall-vetted-and-aided scheme of education.[38]

These transfers were a manifestation of the lessening amount of voluntary aid accruing to denominational schools in the fact of levied rates for the Board's schools. The rating per district varied from ½d per £1 to 6d -- a bone of contention for the future -- but the regularized support for state schooling, with its compulsory "Cowper-Temple" religion, was proving to be an almost irresistable feature of Manx compulsory education. Rather than face closure, the older voluntary schools chose to ally themselves with the state's new venture in social development and democratic control (the appointed committees, as set up by the 1851 Act for these schools, were dissolved upon the transfer of the school to the Board's district committee). The cry of "Godless Board Schools," uttered by those who feared the end of Anglican or Methodist creeds being taught in the respective schools, was countered by the demand for common sense in the provision of undenominational schooling. The Mona's Herald, in discussing the transfer of Methodist schools to the Board, voiced the following approval of the demise of sectarian control of education in Man:

> In justice to the interests of national education in the broadest sense, and to the different religious denominations of the country, school boards should be established everywhere and an undenominational school placed within reasonable distance of every family.39

However, members of the Manx Church did not particularly agree with the sentiments expressed above. As the century progressed, the number of children attending denominational schools in Man produced an unpleasant situation as regards Church-state feelings, since voluntaryism suffered from financial deprivation in the face of growing state control. This battle extended itself over a period of thirty years, with the rhetoric becoming most bitter, on the part of the Church, towards the turn of the century. But perhaps a more immediate contest resulted from the compulsory education clause in the 1872 Act, a clause which was to be resented by the working class of Man, and not without reason.

The Manx poor called the compulsion-clause "forced education," and, compared with what Forster had given England, the Manx Act seemed harsh in its terms. The main complaint with compulsion centred around the children aged ten, eleven and twelve: they were forced to attend a school -- either Board or voluntary -- when they could have been gainfully employed. Such compulsion was found to be a great hardship to families who had sons old enough to be tradesmen and who could have added a few much-needed shillings to the weekly earnings, but who were expressly denied the right to work. Since there was no half-time system operating in Man, as there was in England, this compulsion was viewed as a particularly "new and startling" piece of legislation "to the great bulk of the Manks people," who saw compulsion as "an instrument of enforcement which carried with it penalties and hardships to the poorer classes of the Community."[40] No surprisingly, enforcement of this clause was not always what it should have been, with the sympathy of the Committees showing itself to be with the "poorer classes of the community." John Gell, Chairman of the Board of Education in 1877, admitted that many local authorities within the island were not concerning themselves with compulsion-enforcement, since it was viewed as an unpopular ordinance for the poor to have to endure (especially with the older boys), and was reminiscent of the 1703 articles of compulsion -- unpopular in their time, too.

Prosecutions for non-attendance had, by 1879, reached considerable proportions in Douglas, where the Committee was less partial to the complaints of the poor: eighty-three successful prosecutions in that year (with fines ranging from 6d to 2s 6d) encouraged the Board, but other areas of the island were less vigorous in their efforts. The Malew Committee termed the penalties levied in Douglas "trifling," and felt that the Bench had actually encouraged resistance to compulsion by such paltry fines. The Castletown Bench, meanwhile, actually dismissed all cases brought by the Committee, with the result that the latter concluded that it was utterly useless to initiate further proceedings against defaulters.[41] A fine of 1d against defaulting parents in Santon showed the contempt of the Manx judiciary for the compulsion clause in the south of the island; such a fine was not uncommon in the event of a conviction, since it satisfied the authorities and did not penalize the poor unduly. However, despite the general lack enthusiasm by the Committees to prosecute, and the reluctance of the courts to convict (except in Douglas), attendance moved upwards at a steady rate, from 3,279 in 1871 to 4,453 in 1879 at the fifteen denominational and twenty-five Board schools inspected by the English H.M.I.'s, despite a smallpox attack in 1878 which killed two hundred pupils.[42] Attendance, as Mr. Kay, the H.M.I. observed, was irregular and the Act appeared to many to be a dead letter. Even the

1880 Mundella Act on the mainland did little to make the average working class Manx family feel better about schooling, since Mundella set the age of ten as being the upper limit for attendance, while the Manx youths were forced to attend until the age of thirteen.

But Mr. Kay found the Manx schools to be generally unsatisfactory. Apart from the attendance aspect, he found the schools to be quite neglected by Committee visitation. In addition to this lack of fundamental supervision, he was dismayed at the neglected state of the school registers and of the sundry appliances in the buildings. Indeed, his overall disapproval with the manner in which Manx schools were run (including the private dame schools in the remoter parts of the island) broached a question that was not settled until after the First World War: the sheer parochialism of the numerous local Committees. This feature rendered a co-ordinated policy a farce. As Kay remarked of these local trustees:

> First, they are composed, with few exceptions, of men who have no previous interest in elementary education; many of them are employees of labour, and it is too much to expect, in the face of the storm that would be excited amongst their neighbours, that they will do anything to carry out the compulsory clauses effectually 43

Here, then, was the cause of the sabotage as Kay saw it: the elected members of the local Committees were apathetic in the pursuit of their duties for fear of what their fellow-parishioners would think of them if they over-stepped the bounds of "reasonableness." In addition, the trustees were condemned as being of the same class as those whom Kay and the Keys would have prosecuted for non-compliance with the Act. Although the Manx poor may have placed great faith in their fellow Manxmen in many educational districts within the island, Kay and his colleagues thought them to be obstacles to social betterment. His solution was to recommend that these petty Committees should be abolished; in their stead was to be created a central board of eleven or thirteen members who would then act for the whole island -- which was exactly what Manchester had. He was not the last to recommend such a solution to the problem of Manx parochialism in education, a peculiarly Manx situation which hindered mainland and Tynwald attempts to introduce measures which the two thought advantageous in the up-grading of Manx education along Imperial developmental lines.

Mr. Kay was satisfied with the standard of English spoken by the Manx children, however. He even commented that the Manx accent was at least as pure as in any part of England with which he was acquainted, a compliment indeed as far as he was concerned. Linguistically, the island at this time (1880) was almost totally English-speaking: only eight persons spoke only Manx-Gaelic, while approximately 12,340 were classed as being bi-lingual, with the more remote parisheslike Bride and Jurby proving to be the last remaining strongholds of the indigenous tongue.[44] Such was the progress of anglicization after two centuries of applied techniques in linguistic enculturation.

H.M. Lindsell and Douglas 1880

But Douglas, the most progressive of Manx communities, next presented a problem with its School Committee: it had failed to provide elementary school accommodation for six hundred children, accommodation which the Board had assessed as being most urgently needed. The problem revolved around that of taxation and costs. The six hundred places were going to cost the Douglas rate-payers some £10,000, a figure which was deemed unacceptable. Championed by Mr. G.A. Ring, Mr. Thomas Kelly and the Rev. W.T. Hobson, the rate payers of Douglas defied the Board and the Committee in the extra taxation proposed and actually voiced their preference for voluntaryism in schooling. Indeed, such dissension was created that the above group succeeded in causing the Douglas Committee to be dissolved. Unfortunately, a Tynwald-appointed puppet replacement Committee fared little better, and the Attorney-General resigned his office over the issue in July, 1880. Whitehall then stepped in, in the person of Mr. H.M. Lindsell. The Education Department considered Lindsell, a Scottish barrister, admirably suited to fathom a question of taxation in the Isle of Man and to recommend a solution agreeable to Whitehall, Tynwald and the Douglas rate-payers. His report was published in January, 1881.

The Lindsell Report laid the blame for the Douglas trouble squarely on the shoulders of voluntaryism, which had not adequately coped with a growing population. It was voluntaryism, Lindsell concluded, that had created inadequate conditions in the schools and had kept fees high (4d), thereby excluding hundreds of poor children from places in schools to which the 1872 Act required them to attend. However, the original Committee was determined to "undersell the voluntary schools," taking over temporary premises, charging a uniform, low fee (2d) and "going beyond the purpose for which the Board School was originally instituted."[45] A rivalry had thus been created which had its parallel on the mainland on a far grander scale. Church versus state conflicts within the realm of education were now less concerned with education and its provision per se, but were now shifting to the question of finance. As the number of transfers to the Board showed, the voluntary schools were finding themselves more disadvantaged and were obliged to face the reality of the new agency in their midst. Voluntaryism, it would seem, was blamed for much which was wrong with the state of Manx education; but the blame was not necessarily well-founded.

Lindsell found the deficiency in schooling to be real enough. Some 350 infants and 300 older children were being denied schooling, but his recommendations for remediation were the cause of further protests and meetings and demonstrations, since he advocated the building of more schools. Eventually, the schools were built -- four in all -- but not before the Douglas Committee had been disenfranchised and the rate-payers had vented their wrath in meeting halls, in the streets and in the press.[46] It was obviously one thing for Tynwald to legislate the parameters of education, but it was another for the rate-payers to agree to the financial obligations inherent within deliberate social intervention on behalf of the working class. And the Isle of man, it transpired, was not yet all that Whitehall desired educationally, as the senior inspector of schools for Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmorland and the Isle of Man found out. H.E. Oakley, H.M.I., delivered his special report on the island's schools in October, 1880, almost contemporaneously with Lindsell. A stir was created which was felt at all levels of Manx life; all was not well in the educational state of Man.

At the Crossroads: the 1880's

The agents of Whitehall had long wondered about the educational-standards in Man in comparison with the mainland. The Oakley report which examined Kay's findings in attendance, teaching staffs and infant training, prompted a further investigation of Manx schools, this time by J.H. Davies, H.M.I. Davies concluded that the causes of the unsatisfactory situation in Manx education indeed stemmed from the following three things: irregular attendance, the weakness of the teaching staff and the want of good infant training. These three in turn were the result, Davies claimed, of the "unsuitable constitution, the inertness and the parsimony of the School Committees."[47] Again, the Board/Committee system was singled out as being the root cause of Manx sloth in keeping up the expectations of Whitehall. It was over-parochialized and ill-co-ordinated, with the Board seemingly at the mercy of the Committees. Manx education at the elementary level was proving to be far from satisfactory to the English inspectorate, but at the same time Imperial grants to Board and non-Board schools were being added to by the Science and Art Department in an effort to encourage the instruction of science in some of the larger schools, thereby promoting incentives for teachers and students alike (Whitehall grants had reached nearly £4,000 in 1880 and the Science and Art Department added some £80 in 1881). But standards flagged during the next decade, as the Imperial reports in the Board of Education Annual Reports show, with problems concerning attendance, literacy and the standards of teaching (especially where pupil teachers were employed extensively) being highlighted as perennial worries for the English. School transfers continued to be made to the Board in the face of the "double taxation" presented to the voluntaryists, and the appointing of six attendance officers for the whole island, in 1889, had little overall beneficial effect, since prosecutions were dependent upon the pro-poor magistrates who seemed to care little for the enforcement of the 1872 Act.[48] The judiciary, it would seem, did not endorse the wishes of those who framed the Act, with particular reference to those children over the age of ten years.

But the new schools which had been built in Douglas as a result of the Lindsell inquiry were a source of great pride for those anxious to keep up with trends in England. Here, the principle of the classroom system -- or the "simultaneous system" as Robert Stow had termed it in the 1840's -- was being employed for the first time. This was a most potent factor in the education of the poor, as G.A. Ring, chairman of the Douglas School Committee, termed it.[49] Eight hundred children were accommodated in these new-style schools, which were replete with such facilties as playgrounds, see-saws, swings, lavatories, cloakrooms, technical and cookery classrooms, teachers' rooms and "lofty and well-lighted corridors." Stoves, screens, sinks, hot and cold water and soap were also featured in these Douglas show-schools, around which the Lieutenant-Governor, Horace Walpole, was proudly shown by Chairman Ring, the ex-arch opponent of Board schools some nine years previously. These schools may be said to mark the beginning of a new era for elementary education under the growing power of the Committees, and, needless to say, the competition between state-run and voluntary-run schools flared once again, with the nineties producing vitriolic attacks by both sides, each thinking itself in the right in the education of the Manx poor. Interestingly, the Board of Education in the late 1880's was composed of some eminent Manx people who may be said to have been champions of the establishment -- and Anglican at that. A.E. Moore and Major Goldie-Taubman (Speaker of the House of Keys) worked with the clerics Bishop Straton, the Archdeacon and the Rev. E. Ferrier (the secretary of the Board) in the promotion of education under state control. Thus, paradoxically, the state organ of educational control, geared to secular ideology and Cowper-Temple religion at best, was itself controlled by powerful members of the Manx Church, all of whom were appointed by the Governor, the chief agent of Imperial control in the island. The mainland had its troubles with clerics who tried to prevent the operations of school boards in the 1870's and 1880's, but few must have been the boards graced with such clerical power. The Manx Board of Education, although not a board in the English sense, (since its members were appointed and not elected for a term of three years), was none-the-less operating in a trustee-capacity, attempting to co-ordinate the particularistic and parochial efforts of the numerous Committees according to the wishes of Tynwald.

Perhaps it was the presence on the Board of Education of the clerics which prompted the Mabel Joughin case to occur in 1885. Joughin, a pupil-teacher in the Andreas Parochial School (actually a Board School) was instructed to teach secular subjects during the half-hour reserved for religious education. She expected support from the Board, clerically-dominated as it was, but instead was suspended by the Committee for violating local dictates. The Committee deemed itself the equal of the Board and refused to make amends for something which it considered no business of a Tynwald-appointed (and therefore undemocratic) body. Indeed, it felt that it had the right to suspend religion if it wanted -- even though the 1872 Act stipulated that non-denominational religion was to be part of the curriculum. The up-shot of the whole matter was that the Board, which did defend Joughin and demand her reinstatement, lost to the Andreas Committee's wishes. Mabel Joughin had become a victim of the growing power of secularist parochialism within the Manx education scene.[50]

G.A. Ring and the Douglas Committee: the 1880's

Under the chairmanship of G.A. Ring, however, the Douglas School Committee proved itself to be equal to the challenge of social responsibility which presented its increasingly urgent aspects to those who had the power and ability to effect change. On the mainland, the Social democratic Federation, Fabianism, unionism, the Third Reform Bill of 1884, the Local Government Act of 1888, and the provision of public baths, wash-houses, parks, libraries, allotments, tramways, gas, electricity, water were all aspects of the late Victorian awakening to new levels of social and municipal responsibility. State intervention increased its tempo in an attempt to reach to the lower levels of society as never before. The economic climate -- generated to a great extent by the so-called second industrial revolution after the 1860's -- had an effect upon approaches to education, since it became increasingly apparent that industry needed better-educated workers in order to compete with technological challenges from Europe and America. The welfare of the child became the focus of new philanthropic attention in the larger mainland centres, and the Birmingham Schools' Cheap Dinner Society of 1881 had its equivalent in the Isle of Man: Ring, in Douglas, organized free dinners for Douglas children from 1885 onwards. Under the auspices of the Douglas Committee, some 10,344 dinners were provided for the poor children of the town during 1885-6; a further 12,428 meals were provided in 1886-7. Additionally, the Committee provided free clogs for these same children. As Ring stated:

> Before the establishment of these dinners, a large number of children were attending school in a half-starving condition. For the last three winters, we have had the consolation of knowing such a thing to be morally impossible.51

Douglas was perhaps more mainland-conscious than any other centre in the island from this time onwards -- especially with Ring at the helm of the Committee. Tynwald itself was not unaware of the plight of many of the island's poor and in legislation in 1881, it provided for the foundation of an industrial school: Strathallan Hall, the Isle of Man Industrial Home for Orphan and Destitute Children came into being soon afterwards. By 1885, this Home was responsible for sixty-seven children, who were housed and fed and educated by dint of charitable donations. A substantial number of these children were being readied for "export" to Canada as young settlers, where they, with English Orphans, helped to swell the growing farm communities of the North West Territories, Ontario and British Columbia. Curiously, although the Home was a shelter for children under the age of fourteen years who had been found begging, receiving alms, wandering, destitute, orphaned, living with thieves and prostitutes, etc., it was regarded by the Manx Government as a detention centre, since to escape from its environs could bring about imprisonment "with or without hard Labour" for up to three months. A male escapee stood the risk of being whipped instead of imprisoned, if the Court so decided.[52] The Douglas School Committee provided the teaching personnel at the Home since the bulk of the children were from Douglas and were regarded as being the responsibility of the Douglas Committee and Douglas rate-payers.

Ring was also very much aware of the problem of non-attendance, and wanted to give the English H.M.I.'s less cause for complaint during their annual inspections. He therefore pressed for greater prosecutions in the Douglas courts and secured a number of successful judgements, resulting in imprisonment for the parents of hardened offenders with fines to boot: October, 1888 saw thirty offenders so convicted, with fines ranging from pennies to 2s 6d and six days in prison.[53] Compulsory attendance was to be observed in Douglas, if nowhere else.

The idea of night schooling was also introduced by Ring; fees of 2d and 3d were charged for under and over eighteen year olds respectively, with each teacher receiving 2s 6d for each evening taught. But Ring's efforts in the forthcoming decade were to carry secular educational zeal to new heights on a rising tide of pride in social achievements -- and also into further confrontation with voluntaryism, which was finding itself increasingly disadvantaged in the contest with the state-supported schools.

Ring was determined to make Douglas the show-piece of Manx Board school education and in so doing, constantly looked to England for example and inspiration, since the mainland had become the source of progressive thought in educational endeavour. Indeed, little that transpired in Manx education during the late Victorian and early Edwardian years was not the work of G.A. Ring in some measure. He instigated much in pursuit of the Whitehall-approved goal of orthodoxy with English practise, and acknowledged complicity in a number of schemes to achieve the ends of the establishment in social control in Man.

Developments: Related Spheres, 1872 - 1900

By way of placing educational developments within the broader context during the thirty years following the 1872 Act, Man set about making itself the "Playground of the North" for the English visitors. This entailed the building of roads and bridges and a score of public works projects from harbours to lighthouses and sewers to parks. The Victoria Pier was opened in 1873, permitting disembarkation of passengers into modern terminal facilities, regardless of the tide; 100,000 tourists arrived immediately afterwards and 250,000 came by 1883. The first railway line was opened in 1873 with a line from Douglas to Peel, while the horse-tram system was introduced into Douglas in 1876, to be followed by the Manx Electric Railway in 1894. Parks were laid out, reafforestation programs begun and the island was generally made more attractive for the all-important English visitors.

Politically, the reformed Keys achieved a voiding of customs duties on goods imported from England (1874) while the Customs Act of 1887 gave Tynwald the power to impose, abolish or alter duties -- subject to assent by the Imperial Treasury and Parliament. Women over the age of twenty-one were given the vote in 1881, a notable achievement when viewed in retrospect; females' places on school committees (assured in 1872) increased thereafter -- although it was not until 1933 that a woman entered the House of Keys as a duly elected member.

Culturally, this was the era of the "great awakening" as regards literature. The formation of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society (1879) gave the impetus for much pride in Manx history and culture, and T.E. Brown achieved fame with Betsy Lee and Foc's'le Yarns, becoming the Manx national poet by the time of his death in 1897. Sir T. Hall-Caine wrote about the island in such works as The Deemster and The Manxman, while Canon John Quine wrote The Captain of the Parish, probably the finest protrayal of Manx life ever written. A.W. Moore began his painstaking research into Manx history and culture, producing a number of important works, not the least of which was his classic History of the Isle of Man, published in 1900.

Worthy of mention here is that two elitist schools were founded in Man during this era. The Buchan School for Girls, opened in 1875, became the female equivalent of King William's College for the island's middle class families, while the Sodor and Man Theological School, established by the Anglican hierarchy in connection with King William's College, trained candidates for the Manx Church. In 1889 this school became known as Bishop Wilson's Theological School, in honour of the famous cleric.

A Board School and Free Elementary Education 1892-4

As previously noted, mainland events were watched with great interest and with the Imperial Local Government Act of 1888 and the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, developments were in the offing for new avenues of responsibility in elementary and secondary education. The Manx therefore launched a new commission of their own in 1889: the Education Commission to inquire into "Industrial, Technical and Middle Class Education in the Isle of Man, and Other Matters Relating to Education in the said Isle." William Farrant, a Manxman, was to be the commissioner.[54] The recommendations of the commission spanned everything from elementary schools to the Board itself and included a different curriculum for country and town schools (with children in the country urged to gear their classes around agriculture, dairying, gardening, cookery and laundry work, while town children were to be given more scientific and industrial/workshop training, as befitted those destined for service in industry and the visitor trade). Such ideas were quite new and required not only the assent of Tynwald and its Board of Education, but also the Imperial authorities. Little was put into effect right away, but it was recognized that something more had to be done with elementary education beyond the standard six and seven levels. Thus the die was cast for the first Manx Higher Grade school, which opened its doors in Douglas in 1894. G.A. Ring was one of the leading mainland-oriented agents pushing for such a facility, since it would replicate a form of school and schooling introduced by the more progressive of the English boards. In this regard, Ring was backed by the Inspectorate, the Board and Tynwald, all of whom desired closer pacing of English developments in Man. In a speech given at the opening of the school, Lieutenant Governor Walpole, speaking before the 232 scholars and supporters of the institution, stated the following:

> Now the centre of political gravity is transferred from the classes to the masses, and we must all admit that it is necessary to educate and instruct the masses, so as to exercise their new funtions wisely.55

And the masses now had free education provided for them, thanks to English precedents.

Two years prior to the first Higher Grade Schools in Man, free elementary education was enacted, (1892), a measure formulated once again to keep pace with the English Act of 1891. It was not easily achieved. The average fee per year in Douglas was 5s 8d per child, with an additional £1 10 9d being provided by the Government and rates. It was proposed, however, that the 5s 8d be abolished, thereby absolving parents from the burden of quarterage payments under the terms of compulsory education.

This provoked a storm of protest from a number of members in Tynwald, who felt that the taxpayers were being forced to pay extra money for the education of youngsters in the agricultural districts who would not need the education. It was the old argument of "educating beyond station," creating dissatisfaction with a pre-ordained lot in life:

> The fact here is that they are not satisfied with the agricultural labour life. They are educated above it. As a matter of course you must educate a man according to the position in life he is intended to occupy. You cannot educate him to a point that would enable him to take a position of a very superior kind and expect him to continue as a farm labourer. The thing is absurd and inconsistent. It never will be and cannot be.56

But although the argument used by the M.H.K.'s who were reluctant to spend public money on such arrant nonsense dated backed two centuries at least in the English-speaking world, a new twist had been added in Man: emigration to the town or overseas was feared as being the net result of such "over-education," something which was not wanted in the country areas where there was a shortage of hired labourers on the land, and where pay was minimal. Money and services would be lost it was feared, and the decreasing rural population would be speeded in its demise. The idea of free education for the benefit of other countries was not easy to espouse by the landlord class of M.H.K.'s who baulked at Manx money paying for a flight of labour from their lands. But the more liberal-minded M.H.K.'s, aware of the youthful flight from the island since the 1600's as a viable alternative to life in a closed system, stated what had come to be the birth-right of a new generation of Manx youth:

> It is of the highest advantage to the community of the Island that the children of the poor, when they go to larger countries, should be able to compete with other people ... on even terms.57

But costs were always to the fore-front: the Keys were reluctant to raise taxation in an island where low taxation was an inducement for investment and low-cost living. The Attorney-General finally put it to the Keys in terms which left no room for doubt as to Man's relationship with England: what was undertaken on the mainland had also to be undertaken in Man. The island was so inextricably linked with the English system that it was impossible not to follow suit on matters pertaining to education. If developments in Man were not to follow those in England, the Manx Government would be placed in the "awkward position" of ignoring what was being done for the labouring classes of England and denying parallel privileges for the same class in man.[58]

It was therefore through fear of mainland repercussions and of the labouring classes at home that Tynwald passed the free education measure in 1892. Once again, pacing the mainland had worked its effect upon the Manx: what England did, Man, through its position of dependency upon the metropolis, was obliged to follow.

Rivalry - the 1890's: Voluntaryists vs Boards

But the question of Board versus voluntaryism heated up immediately after the abolition of "school pence," with three of the remaining twelve voluntary schools continuing to charge 3d, 4d and 6d weekly fees for instruction, defeating the purpose of the 1892 Act. The secularists were dismayed at the arrogance of these non-rate aided establishments, which were now out-numbered by some forty Board schools fully under Government grants.[59] Those who felt that the education of the people was a sacred trust given to the Church were paying for the privilege of watching the Board schools overtake them in a number of areas with their own money -- and as the Imperial Government's regulations concerning the accommodation of children toughened under successive Liberal administrations (1880-85 and 1892-95), the Manx voluntaryists had to find money to improve things in order to qualify for the Whitehall grants to Manx schools, which were in excess of £6,000 per year after 1895.

Voluntaryist complaints on the mainland had fallen on deaf Liberal ears during the same time period: by 1895, some nine hundred Anglican schools had closed because of hardship in the face of competition from the rate-aided board schools and increasing governmental stipulation in the maintenance of schools. The Cross Commission of 1888, under a Tory government, recommended rate-aid for the voluntary schools -- which were predominantly Anglican and therefore part of the Tory party's power-base -- but such aid was not to materialize until the Balfour Education Act of 1902. Meanwhile, the boards felt justified in levelling accusations of non-democratic management, dogmatic teaching and poor educational facilities at the voluntaryists, while they indulged their secular rights in "elementary-plus" education under the protection of the National Education Association. The English 1870 settlement/compromise had now become an uneasy tethering of Cowper-Temple religion and sectarianism,a situation which was being mirrored in Man to an almost exact degree. The Manx Act of 1872 was little more conducive to the promotion of accord between the two groups representing Church and state. As the century drew to a close, the voluntary schools were clearly being out-paced by the board schools. The decline in church attendance on the mainland (disputed by some historians) meant that the 14,200 voluntary schools were continually having to adjust to the lack of adequate financial backing. Although divided as to the desirability of further state aid and intervention, the voluntary agencies pressed increasingly for greater monetary assistance, reasoning that such was their due for the decades of work in training the lower orders in godliness, honesty and duty. Their cries did not go unheard.

The Imperial Education Bill of 1897, introduced by the voluntary-sensitive Salisbury Conservative government, proposed to hand the

Education Department £600,000 annually for distribution to voluntary schools. Termed "grant in aid," five shillings per child for average attendance was to be awarded to these schools as a stop-gap measure to help the struggling denominational education effort. It raised a storm of protest in the Isle of Man from those who viewed voluntary schooling in terms of opposition to state efforts in the exercise of democracy and sectarian-free education. G.A. Ring, as chairman of the Douglas School Board, was such a protestant. As the Manx proponent par excellence of state schooling, he was opposed to any public funding of voluntary schools, since the board schools were to be excluded from equivalent funding. As Ring stated:

> A town or parish which has been struggling with ... inefficient voluntary schools, in order to stave off an education rate, will be large gainers under the bill; while on the other hand, towns which have adopted a rate to provide good sanitary buildings and thoroughly efficient education would get nothing. The bill is obviously unfair, and partial in its treatment.[60]

Ring further added that, although such a measure would be an injustice to the rate-payer, the Manx authorities would have to follow suit, bringing in similar legislation for the benefit of Manx voluntary schools, since Man was so closely tied to England in its educational policy, funding and inspection.[61]

Ring was correct in his judgement: the Manx voluntary schools did not receive the benefits of the English legislation and were accordingly denied the five-shilling grant given to the mainland schools. The twelve remaining Manx denominational schools found that they had to supply £1 13 8 for every child in attendance, while the Board schools supplied £2 6 7, exactly as before (with the voluntary schools educating 2,950 children, compared with the Board's 5,204 in 1898).[62] Mainland costs at this time were £2 0 6 for voluntary schools and £2 13 2½ for board schools, by way of comparison, while Manx voluntary school supporters contributed an average of 3s 3d compared with 6s 8½d in England. Clearly, the Manx voluntary schools were not in receipt of as much money for the education of their charges as their mainland counterparts, and nor did a growing number of people feel that they should receive compensatory amounts of state aid, despite the large number of children accommodated in the denominational schools. But impoverishment could not be ignored, and Ring was correct in his assumption that a Manx bill would be needed to bring Man into line with English legislation. Accordingly, a Manx Voluntary Schools Bill was brought before Tynwald, only to be met with the expected opposition.

Nonconformists, and notably the Primitive Methodists, objected to the principle of "the endowment of religion," posing the question: "was it zeal in the education that prompted them (the voluntaryists) to run these schools, or was it zeal in the interests of something else?"[63] For them, the spending of public revenues by non-representative religious bodies and committees was unwise, unjust and undemocratic. The public should have control of that which their money supported, they reasoned. But powerful forces were being marshaled in the opposing camp.

In 1897/8, an Anglican-Wesleyan-Catholic deputation to the Governor, Lord Henniker, requesting government aid in support of the 2,909 children being educated in the three types of voluntary schools, met with a positive response. The voluntaryists now argued that the 17s 6d limit per head, which had been repealed in England, should also be repealed in Man, since costs were increasing and the limit was really out-moded. The expenses over and above the grant of 17s 6d had to be found by a constant appeal to charity, while the Board schools enjoyed the advantage of money from the rates -- given on a consistent basis -- for the execution of the same job. The Bishop of Sodor and Man, N.D.J. Straton, stated the case in the following fashion.

> The School Boards have no difficulty whatever, as they can get whatever they want from the rates, but voluntary schools cannot do that. Suppose the income of a school is £250 and that it earns £300 in the shape of a grant, then it will be fined £50 because £250 is the equivalent of what otherwise it receives. That is a terrible drawback to schools, because the more you are fined if poor. It acts as a damper, and has done for years.64

Lord Henniker backed the voluntaryists' requests for aid by pointing out that the Manx schools had to be placed on the same footing as English schools, since the insular schools were examined by English inspectors, and, if the penalization continued, the voluntaryists' spirit would be crushed and the dozen denominational schools would be thrown onto the rates -- a most expensive alternative to the cost-conscious Manx rate-payers (the 966 children in Douglas voluntary schools alone saved the town's rate-payers approximately £1,000 per year, it was estimated, with the rating of 2d in the pound).[65] Indeed, voluntary schooling was in such dire straits, according to the Rev. G. Paton, that its existence was in the nature of being "hand to mouth," with the schools losing money in ever-increasing amounts per year (£40 at St. Thomas' in Douglas and £30 at Ramsey), while a Catholic priest, Father Walsh of Douglas, likened the position to one of persecution: Manx voluntary schools were -- in his opinion -- the most oppressed group of schools in the United Kingdom.[66]

Opposition to the moves by the pro-voluntaryist group in the legislature (which consisted of the Council, in the main, where the Bishop, the Archdeacon and the Lieutenant-Governor held sway) reached alarming proportions with such anti-Church organs as the Manxman publishing vitriolic denunciations of the impending moves to provide rate support for the dozen schools. Walsh, Grahm and Savage -- the churchmen spearheading the move -- were labelled "wily clerics" making sly, underhanded overtures to the Pro-Church power group in the legislature, while pointedly ignoring the wishes of the Manx rate-payers, who were expected to pay a further £500 for the support of "the seminaries of sectarian churches." The voluntaryists supposedly "pretended" to love their schools, jealously watching over the training of the children, yet refusing to provide sufficient funds in order to maintain the schools. "Is it then likely," asked the Manxman, "to expect the outside public to contribute to their support? The public, we trust, will sternly refuse to make up for their apathy and neglect."[67] Voluntary schools, it was argued, deserved to fail if they were not sufficiently maintained by their supporters: pay or perish was the attitude behind such anti-voluntaryist utterances, with little sympathy shown for the unfortunates caught in the middle -- the children.

However, despite such rhetoric as was displayed by the anti-Church press, aided and abetted by George Ring and the School Board supporters, the legislature brought in the Education Act of 1898. The restrictive 17s 6d limit was repealed, and the voluntary schools were helped in their operations by being accorded assistance from the Manx rate-payers.[68] The Church party, which espoused the cause of voluntaryism, held sway in the supposedly apolitical Tynwald; the Manx had therefore followed in the footsteps of the mainland, not because of the express wishes of the populace, but because of prudence and precedence by way of English example. The alternative would have been to bring the dozen schools fully onto the rates at even greater cost to the rate-payer, and this could not be countenanced. This state of semi-support was to remain in effect in Man until 1949, despite the fact that the mainland altered the financial base of its voluntary schools with the 1902 Balfour Education Act, which brought the voluntary schools almost fully onto the rates as "non-provided" schools (maintenance was provided by the new Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.'s), with capital costs and structural repairs being provided by the managers, of whom two to six had to be from the L.E.A., and with religious instruction being continued according to the trust deed of each school). The Manx refused to follow suit on this issue until nearly half a century had passed and the dozen schools had dwindled to little more than four. These then became fully maintained by the Manx rate-payer.

Tentative Steps Beyond Basic Education: Towards the Twentieth Century

In England during the 1890's the school boards were attacked by the Conservatives from administrative and financial standpoints. The boards, it was considered, had outstripped their usefulness, were excessive in their spending or rate-payers' money and were too particularistic in their outlook. Numerous groups, from the Fabians to the Tory caucus, determined to reduce the powers of the boards and to have their work assimilated by the larger county and county borough councils, which had been brought into existence in 1888 under the Local Government Act. This Tory measure spelled the beginning of the end for ad hoc committees on the scale of school boards, fine ventures though they had been in localized, democratic control. James Bryce's Commission of 1895 offered a plan for a national system of education with a central government authority, an advisory council and the provision of secondary education by local authorities -- and at least something was done to meet the recommendation by establishment of the Board of Education in 1899. The trend was obviously to centralize and assimilate if possible, and the Manx, in part, followed suit in 1899.

By the terms of the Manx Education Act of 1899, the Board of Education was replaced by the Council of Education, while School Committees became known as School Boards. The Act did not in any way alter the administrative composition of Manx education and it was not until 1907 that this feature was changed in order to parallel the changes ushered in on the mainland by the Balfour quest to re-cast elementary and secondary education -- and even then, the Manx only looked at the potential organization of secondary education, full re-organization not appearing until after the First World War. The mainland events, as always, had their effects in the Isle of Man, and the destruction of the English school boards in 1902 showed the Manx situation to be an anomaly in the trend towards efficiency and amalgamation. But the Manx, as was their wont, marched to a slightly different drummer.

Secondary Schooling 1895 - 1907

The Manx had been concerned about the lack of secondary educational provision on the island since the Bryce Commission had reported upon the establishment of a secondary educational system on the mainland in 1895. Accordingly, the Manx conducted their own inquiry into the whole matter two years after the Bryce Commission had reported its findings.

The Manx Commission on Secondary Education, appointed by Sir West Ridgeway in 1895, reported in 1897. It sought to reveal the situation in Man by canvassing teachers, parents and all those interested in secondary, technical and industrial education, the results being a telling testimony of Manx attitudes, and of the actual status of elementary/ secondary education in the island at the close of the century. The

Commission, whose members included Bishop Straton, George Ring, A.W. Moore, the Rev. F.B. Walters and George Drinkwater, attempted to recommend directions which Man should take along the path of secondary educational provision. As conservatives and Churchmen, their world-view seemed, on paper, to be most progressive and egalitarian. As the Manxman stated:

> It is something that we have in the Isle of Man an influential body of gentlemen who have thus displayed a willingness to bring the advantages of secondary education within the reach of the poorer classes in such a congenial way as will not be antagonistic to their natural sympathies or out of harmony with their general surroundings. The old-time spirit of preserving the blessings and sweets of higher education for the better classes has vanished and this fact was never made more manifest in the Island than now.69

Unfortunately, the poorer classes were not provided with a means to higher education in the Isle of Man anymore than their counterparts in England at this time. Indeed, the student-teacher ratios in the upper standards of five, six and seven in many Manx schools did not augur well for education beyond the middle elementary level outside the environs of Douglas' Higher Grade School: at Ramsey National in the upper standards (4-7), there was one teacher for eighty students; at Laxey, in the same standards, the ratio was 1:85, while at Port St. Mary Boys, in standards two through seven, the ratio was 1:93. St. Marks, Santon and Rushen all had similar daunting ratios, well illustrating the over-crowding and under-staffing prevalent across the island.[70] Taken on a district-by-district basis, the report revealed the need for a higher grade school in each major town outside Douglas -- the latter being the most "English-sensitive" community on the island, especially since its Committee had been headed by George Ring. The fees for the existing grammar schools in Ramsey, Peel and Castletown were approximately one guinea per term, placing them out of reach of all but the middle class.

Most revealing however, was the discovery by the Commission that the demand for higher education beyond standard seven was little more than nominal. By way of example, the Ramsey National Schools sent out 69 inquiries, receiving 53 replies, of which 27 were in favour of some form of secondary education for their children and 26 were not. However, of the 27 favourable replies, one was willing to pay 1s per week in fees, five were willing to pay 6d, three to pay 4d, seven 3d, five 2d, three a "reasonable charge," and three unable to pay anything.[71] Similarly, in the Laxey - South Cape - Ballagawne area, the consensus of opinion was that the number of children whose parents could afford to keep them at a secondary school up to the age of fifteen or sixteen -- even with a modest fee of 6d per week -- was no more than 50 out of some 134 in standards five through seven, while those who actually would avail themselves of such an opportunity, should it be provided, was gauged at being no more than 25.[72] Here was a problem indeed: the Manx working class held little store by continuing the education of youngsters destined for the traditional occupations much beyond the age of thirteen or fourteen years. Full-time employment could be obtained in any number of trades, from fishing and mining, to farming, labouring, quarrying, domestic service, etc. Man in any case, had no provision for half-time employment, as there was in England, where part time education was permitted from the age of ten, under the Mundella Act of 1880, though the minimum age was raised to eleven in 1893 and twelve in 1899. Since work was readily available immediately upon leaving school at thirteen, it was felt that such extensions of education would be meaningless. Also, the Manx working class felt that all members of the family should help with placing money on the table as soon as possible -- and with the visitor industry reaching record levels of around 500,000 persons frequenting the island by 1895, thereby providing for lucrative jobs for town and country dewllers -- it was not surprising therefore, to discover such low esteem for education beyond that which the state decreed had to be.

The Manx teachers themselves recognized this low esteem for secondary education among the working class; they recommended no more than a higher grade school in the three major towns outside Douglas. Edwin Sheperd, secretary of the Isle of Man Teachers' Association at this time, pointedly noted that the teachers were of the opinion that it would be some time before the majority of the public would give any support to a secondary educational scheme in the island.[73] Cited as proof of this negative attitude were the attempts at evening school classes. Over the previous decade, from 1885 to 1895, attempts at providing classes in art, wood-carving, basket-making, butter-making, debating, pianoforte, hygiene, mathematics, navigation, cookery, etc. had met with varying degrees of success. Many classes had ended in abject failure, it was noted. A number of factors were to blame: late hours of labour, long distances to travel on foot, employer-conservatism and lack of enthusiasm for employees to acquire new skills and knowledge, and sheer indifference and poverty on the part of the populace. Indeed, the general failure of evening continuation programs prompted the following comment from the general report of the northern district of Ramsey, Maughold, Lezayre, Bride, Andreas, Jurby and Ballaugh:

> Whilst regarding this as the chief means by which culture can be brought to bear on the great masses of the people, it is somewhat discouraging to note that while attempts to carry on schools of this kind have been made in the past ... they have generally resulted in failure, and the experience thus acquired shows that either some form of compulsion is necessary, or some greater inducements should be held out, to encourage youths to continue their studies.74

Where successes had been achieved, these had been dependent upon the personality of the teacher, the novelty of the approach, the self-activation of the students, and, in part, compulsion. Although the Commission recommended that evening continuation schools should be attempted wherever possible and with a multiplicity of subjects offered in order to tempt back the youth of the island to the class-room after a day's work,[75] it was all too aware of the meaning of the reply given by the master of the Ramsey Wesleyan School, who said: "How can people know whether they have a desire to have a thing without first knowing what the thing is and what it may mean to them and others?"[76]

Where the typical school-leaver of 1895 was expected to follow a livelihood in the mine, the quarry, on the farm or at sea (if a boy) or home employment, domestic service or dressmaking (if a girl), higher levels of education were thought to be unnecessary. Indeed, there was little desire for industrial education among the working class across the island -- something which might have proved to be of more benefit than most of the subjects offered at night school. Although such instruments of public persuasion as the Manxman lauded the recommendations of the Commission as being progressive and long-awaited, the opposition to secondary education in the form of apathy also came from the legislature, where "tight-fisted individuals" who were "narrow-minded" ruled the roost. From these members of the Manx establishment, educational reform and commercial progress for Man were not expected to take place in any hurry.[77]

Taken together, the working class of the island, along with many of the middle class legislators, viewed a push for secondary education as premature and needless. Secondary education for those below the middle class stratum was regarded (as Morant and Balfour were to think) as not being fully meaningful or desirable, since there was doubt as to the abilities of the masses. Some of the better sort of the masses -- i.e., those with mental attributes fitting them for possible elevation to the middle class -- were allowed to escape from their class via the secondary ladder after 1902, but these "chosen few" hardly represented a massive confidence in the provision of secondary education for anyone below the middle class. Indeed, as Eric Eaglesham has pointed out, the Balfour legislation of 1902 was instrumental in the separation of elementary from secondary education, the hybrid school board creations of higher grade schools being all but condemned for social and educational heresy in an age still governed by class relationships.[78] The "system" had been strained by the enthusiastic work of the local, ad hoc, democratic boards, it was ~~felt, and as~~ such, an unofficial blurring of lines was being enacted. The Balfour Act re-established the lines by removing local control and permitting only a formal system of transfer from one class to another via the vehicle of the traditionally-styled grammar school. Little effort was accorded secondary education in the development of quasi-vocational programs such as had evolved with many of the higher grade schools.

The Isle of Man was little different from England in its notions of class, station and privilege. Each class was to have a specific type of education, with the Imperial regulation of the 1904 Code defining boundaries of education. True, provision was made to allow a small percentage of promising working class children to enjoy a grammar school education and the opportunity for elevation into the next social class -- just as in England. But the working class was to remain with its elementary schooling in much the same mode of scope and sequence as it always had been and secondary education for this class was to prove far from satisfactory until later in the century.

Elementary Education, circa 1900: Punishment and Progress

As to the provision of elementary education in Man at the turn of the century, a series of articles in the Manxman (October to November, 1897) proves to be most illuminating, not only for its exposition of the nature of elementary schooling in Douglas, but in its rationale for such provision. Apart from "uplifting the masses and developing intelligence and culture," the most successful effect of such education was deemed to be its reduction in the incidence of crime. Apparently, the island saw a decrease in the number of convicted criminals from 1872 onwards, some 1,462 being convicted of indictable offences in 1881, while only 1,011 were convicted in 1895.[79] Since over 97 percent of the prisoners in 1872 could neither read nor write, it was concluded that compulsion was the key to literacy and a decreasing incidence of crime, since most of the criminals had been truants or non-attenders. The school was seen as the "great and most powerful opponent of gaol," a sentiment which the exaggerated claims concerning criminal-literacy attempted to substantiate. In echoing Sir George Kekewich's sentiments about every new school putting a prison out of business, the secretary of the Douglas School Board pointedly stated:

> To compel such children (potential criminals) to attend school regularly now will probably have the effect of removing compulsion for them to attend prison afterwards.[80]

In purely financial terms, the Manx Government spent, in 1895, an average of £2 12 0 per year upon the education of a child; a convict cost the Government £39 16 2, with a £10 0 0 charge for his trial. It was therefore with this thinking in mind that the Manx judicial authorities vigorously endorsed the use of the birch with young offenders and truants. The case of John Shimmin, the son of a fisherman, well illustrates the point.

During the year of 1897, John had attended school only 93 out of a possible 212 times, and the J.P., a Mr. Langton, ordered the boy to be whipped with the following comment:

> He will receive twelve stripes on the bare skin by a constable and that shall be done in the presence of a medical man, who shall stop the whipping if there is any apparent danger to the lad's life. It will be a whipping such as he will remember.81

However, the close association with school attendance and crime statistics saw the Manx apply the birch not infrequently to youngsters such as John Shimmin for transgression of the compulsory attendance laws, although the English frowned upon such measures as the twentieth century dawned and progressed. (a Manx truant's counterpart in England faced little comparable physical violence). Similarly, in the punishment of common theft, the Manx authorities were equally harsh: the Douglas School Committee of 1897 reported that a fourteen year old girl had been sent to prison for the crime of stealing two small postal orders while her sister, aged eleven, was sent to a remand home. Both were neglected children without proper parental care and both were regarded as being wicked and indecent.[82]

Such measures as child-whipping and child-imprisonment -- both authorized by appointed lay authorities -- were part and parcel of the Manx judicial scene, where the urge to enforce compulsion and effect moral reform was unduly strong. Such state-approved abuse of youngsters found general approval among the public, and indeed, even today, the passing of the birch into Manx history has not occurred without considerable regret. Paradoxically, at the same time as John Shimmin was being whipped at the judiciary's pleasure, an Act was being passed in Tynwald (1899) for the protection of children against such brutal measures as were being meted out by the state. This Act encompassed all manner of prohibitions of cruelty, from ill-treatment and beating, to child-employment.[83] Paradoxically, long prison terms and large fines were authorized against those who did what a fraction of the judicial authorities deemed to be their right in enforcing that which was good for the child, for society and for the Manx taxpayer.

But the fruits of Manx elementary education were generally seen as pleasing to educationists in both Man and England. From developments in England, the Manx enlarged their curriculum, providing knowledge not only of the 3 R's, but of numerous other subjects unknown a decade earlier. The ideas of educators from F.W.A. Froebel to John Dewey and others brought new growth to the world of the classroom, with accompanying new approaches in instruction and a fresh regard for the child. Dewey, perhaps more that any other educational thinker, affected the progress of English education at the turn of the century: activity for its own sake in his "progressive" education, geared to the child as an individual, meant that the curriculum had to be freed from its old straight-jacket of the 3 R's; it had to broaden its range to include music, literature, crafts, games, physical exercise and drill. The Manx, in keeping with the mainland, brought new subjects into the extended elementary program, from animal husbandry to health, joinery to science, cooking to modelling. However rudimentary these subjects were in their rendition, the net effect was one of satisfaction to Manx people, from the chambers of Tynwald to the boarding houses of Douglas. Utilitarian in their various ways, the new subjects relieved some of the boredom and constrictions of the after-effects of Lowe's revised Code, which, through ingrained habit, refused to fade from the pedagogical scene.

By 1900, Manx children were considered to be as bright as their English counterparts, and as well provided for in school and out. It was pointed out in Tynwald -- with pride -- that the Manx Board and voluntary schools cost £2 4 8 and £1 16 4 respectively per child each year, while the English and Welsh equivalents cost £2 13 9 and £2 2 9 respectively.[84] Economy in educational matters was always to be considered a virtue in Man. As regards Whitehall grants, the Manx were also more fortunate per capita than the English and Welsh. In 1900, Manx Board and voluntary children earned respectively £1 1 10 and £1 0 5 against the mainland's £1 0 3 and 19s 7d, causing an M.H.K. to state that elementary education in Man must be satisfactory, since, from a financial standpoint, it was cheaper than that found "across the water."[85] To members of the legislature, English grants signified a blessing to Manx rate-payers: the more the English subsidized insular education, the better it was for Manx pocket books. Indeed, as long as elementary education was viewed through the eyes of cost-conscious legislators, it was thought to be more than adequate and most efficient if voted supplies were kept down. Buoyed up by 85 percent attendance rates, by a steady Tynwald vote of some £15,045, by the Education department's grant of £8,644 and the Science and Art Department's £820, a total education budget of £21,344 for 41 Board and 11 denominational schools, accommodating 8,059 children, was looked upon as being an achievement in fiscal management. Elementary education in Man was keeping up with that on the mainland. Even the annual report of the Rev. F.F. Cornish, H.M.'s Chief Inspector for the North-Western District, announced that, apart from the small numbers attending infant schools, education was prospering in the Isle of Man. Indeed, with eight evening schools catering for approximately 200 students, a School of Art and a Pupil Teacher Centre in Douglas, the outlook for the twentieth century appeared to be quite favourable.

But with this favourable attitude settling upon those who controlled education in the island, there appeared once more, from the nationalist sector of Manx society, the desire to cut some of the ties of dependence upon England, to assert greater control over insular affairs and to promote a new drive for constitutional reform. Using the basis of the Manx Government having provided a more than satisfactory education for the masses, the nationalists inaugurated a movement for the political and economic liberation of the Isle of Man from the old bonds of Westminster. Nothing short of home rule was the objective -- as it was in the larger Gaelic island to the west -- and the Manx (now thoroughly intermixed with English and Scottish lineage after a century of immigration) were determined to assert their ancient rights. Unfortunately, the subordination of Man to England was brought home to the Manx by the governorship of Lord Raglan, an Englishman who was hostile to Tynwald and who interpreted his office in the strictest of colonial traditions.[86] A struggle was enacted during the course of his incumbency (1902-1919) which was to see education used by both sides a political football.

Against this background of constitutional and nationalist struggle must be placed the events on the mainland to 1918, since the Manx were always sensitive to moves by the English and were inextricably tied to English financial and institutional machinery, not to mention the ideology and politics which shaped the underlying Imperial structure.

Education and the Resurgence of Nationalism, 1900 - 1914

On the mainland, the events following the Cockerton judgement of 1900 spelled the death of the school boards. Sir John Gorst, Sidney Webb and Robert Morant all thought that the boards had outlived their usefulness. With the pressures from the voluntaryists, a new scheme of education was unfolded in 1902, which, apart form unleashing a Liberal, Labour and nonconformist backlash to this Tory measure (culminating in a Tory defeat in 1905) laid the foundation for an interlocking elementary-secondary, class-based educational program. It was non-egalitarian in its tenets, but it did provide the first halting steps in the provision of secondary education for those members of the working class able to climb the rungs of its ladder.

In the Isle of Man, however, the death of the school boards was not at all close at hand and the 1902 mainland legislation was all but unfelt. The Rev. F.F. Cornish, H.M.I., writing in 1902, reported that Man had been spared the anxieties of England in the Cockerton-Morant-Balfour moves against the boards,[87] and in part he was correct. Evening schools for those under the age of fifteen years ceased operations, but legislation by Tynwald in May, 1902, empowered the Council of Education to conduct such schools on an enlarged basis and still receive the Whitehall grant (some fifty-one subjects were offered for instruction, including incidentally, Manx language, grammar and literature). Manx School Boards were also empowered to maintain the Higher Grade Schools (this was applicable to Douglas only) and Schools of Science (also Douglas), as well as providing for some sixty pupil-teachers -- as they had done in the past -- notwithstanding the streamlining of authority and provision in England (with 318 L.E.A.'s being created from the unwieldy 2,500 particularistic school boards). Parochialism was still the prominent organizational feature in the Isle of Man, however, and this was to prove more troublesome and embarrassing as the new century progressed.

Secondary Education 1902 - 1907: Keys, Whitehall and Politics

The long-gnawing question of the provision of secondary education for Man was broached once again by the English legislation of 1902. County and county boroughs (part II authorities) were to provide secondary education (where it was deemed to be needed) in the Morant-directed public school mould and not after the fashion of the board-created Higher Grade schools. The Manx were accordingly spurred into examining the state of their secondary education yet again, and, accordingly, the question of organization raised its head once more.

The Board of Education at Whitehall -- with Lord Raglan acting as the Imperial agent carrying out the wishes of the Crown -- now stepped in and complicated the issue. The Board, despairing that Tynwald would fully conform to the tenets of the English organizational model, urged the Council of Education to adopt the English model before August, 1906; Raglan, meanwhile, moved to do battle with the House of Keys.[88]

The Manx lower house had come to be at loggerheads with the Governor and his Council over the budget: the Governor alone prepared it -- according to his colonial privilege -- and Tynwald could only vote for or against it, without amendment. Since no financial matters could be proposed by it, the Keys were placed in a constant state of antagonism with the rest of Tynwald, i.e., Raglan and his Council. This antagonism now extended to educational matters, with the Keys assuming the mantle of nationalism and demanding independence from the colonial ties with Westminster. In this capacity, the Keys sought to thwart Raglan, his Council and the Whitehall directives on the amalgamation of the numerous petty Manx Boards into one effective English-style L.E.A.

A Committee of Inquiry had meanwhile been struck to assess Manx secondary educational needs, and, at the same time (1905) a Bill concerning educational organization, including secondary educational proposals, was brought before Tynwald. Its passage was rough, to say the least. Against a background of public meetings throughout the island, where the rate-payers, parish committees and commissioners, School Boards and the like protested against the possibilities of increased taxation and Board-mutilation,[89] discussions in Tynwald became heated. The Attorney-General proposed the creation of a central authority of thirty members, twenty-four of whom were to be elected and six appointed by the Council of Education. The School Boards were to remain intact, to a certain extent, but their autonomous power was to be removed ~~and~~ in general, the whole scheme was to be equated with the Whitehall-L.E.A.-school managers' hierarchy of command in England. The Council -- as Raglan's pro-English curia -- endorsed the proposals with enthusiasm, and in particular, the Bishop and the Vicar General were anxious for the change.[90]

The House of Keys, however, tended to view things rather differently. As elected representatives from the various sheadings, the M.H.K.'s were aware of the popularity of the Boards and of the attachment of the communities to them. Quite naturally, the majority of the Keys supported the continuance of the patch-work quilt of local authority as instituted in 1872, and were against defering to the new English model proposed by Whitehall for the island. Tied in with this question was the provision of secondary education; the Keys were in favour of providing it for all Manx children desirous of it, regardless of class or station. Two reasons prompted this position, both economic in origin. W. Goldsmith MHK, stated the reasons quite simply when he spoke of the continued emigration of Manx youth from the island, an aspect of Manx life which had not changed since the seventeenth century:

> Our fishing industry and our mining industry have failed to such an extent that opportunities of employment are very much reduced and circumscribed. The result will be that more of our young people will have to leave the Island to make their way in other countries. Surely then, it behoves us to consider well the very best we can do for the future that awaits them.[91]

However, the clinching argument in favour of providing the necessary education for the island's youth was the fact that by sheer size of population, there was not a large number of children able to take advantage of optional secondary education; costs, therefore, would not be greatly affected.[92] Added to this was the fact that many families felt that schooling up to the age of fourteen was sufficient for any Manx child, as had been shown by the 1897 Report. Should secondary education be provided, then, it was obvious that it would not be an excessive drain upon Man's financial reserves, since not everyone would avail themselves of it beyond the age of fourteen.

But a further directive from Whitehall prompted the Keys to endorse the provision of secondary education without further ado Robert Morant, intent upon killing the old pupil-teacher system, which had operated for some sixty years, ordered that all those who intended to become elementary school teachers had to attend a secondary school (i.e., a grammar school, modelled upon an English public school, and not a Higher Grade establishment, which he felt to be far inferior to a grammar school) for a period of three or four years before entering teacher training.[93] The Morant move spread alarm among the Keys Teaching was an important vocation for many young Manx people, and without attendance at secondary schools of the kind desired by Morant, this opening would be closed, since English money and English regulations dictated the nature of teacher training. At this time (1906) there were 88 pupil teachers working in the island -- 66 female and 22 male -- along with some 206 regular teachers -- 63 male and 143 female. By 1914, the position had changed somewhat with regard to these numbers: 14 pupil/student teachers remained, an indication of the effect of Morant's new code. Sadly, there was no provision in Man, as there was in England, for free places in the grammar schools for 25 percent of those attending -- the "free place system" of the Liberals, 1907 -- therby cutting the likelihood of Manx scholars proceeding to English training colleges. Only Douglas, it will be remembered, offered such a facility, with its Higher Grade School, a school with no free places at this time, and not operating along the ideological lines desired by Morant.

One last point was made by the members of the House of Keys as secondary education was being discussed: 85 percent of the teachers in Man were Manx-born, men and women who had taken their elementary and secondary-apprenticeship training in the island, attended training colleges on the mainland, and returned to Man for employment. W. Goldsmith MHK, aptly observed, when reflecting upon this situation: "If this source of supply is closed against us, it stands to reason a larger amount will have to be paid for teachers in the future than has been paid in the past."[94] He was quite correct; pupil teachers were a cheap source of labour in the classroom, subsidized as they were by English grants to themselves and their teacher-instructors. Should such useful and cheap personnel have been denied to Manx elementary schools entirely, through failure to follow directions from Whitehall, then the Manx tax-payer would soon have been obliged to have paid for fully-qualified, imported English teachers. As it was, the pupil-teacher system belonged to the Victorian age and, even in the Isle of Man, its days were numbered at Morant's hands. There was little point in fighting the inevitable and the Manx deferred to English wishes.

Economics, then, mixed with common sense, saw the Keys endorse the secondary education proposal. But its organization was a different matter, and here again the Keys clashed with the pro-English Council.

The Council, in keeping with the wishes of Whitehall, proposed that the Central-Authority-to-be should be responsible for secondary education, as an English L.E.A. was. This was scotched by the Keys, who wanted no English-style centralization. As a consequence, the Bishop, the Archdeacon and the Speaker all resigned their seats on the Council of Education in January, 1906. Bishop Straton stated that the lower house had "wrecked the Bill," and that the consequences for the Isle of Man would be disastrous, since the English authorities (Whitehall) would refuse to give financial aid to Manx secondary education. He warned:

> I fear that not only will it certainly result in the non-recognition of our existing schools by the educational authorities in England -- in which case they will be placed in a position of hopeless inferiority, if indeed they can be maintained at all -- but also our hopes of receiving outside assistance in the matter of secondary education (intimation of which has been publicly given) will be endangered in the absence of any scheme for this purpose 95

Meanwhile, Cyril Jackson, the ex-Chief Inspector of the Board of Education, Whitehall, had conducted an inquiry into the state of secondary education in Man. He presented his findings and recommendations to the legislature in July, 1906.

The Jackson Report, 1906

Much of Jackson's work in the way of recommendations was discounted by Tynwald because "it was not felt that they were on the lines of practical politics in the Isle of Man ...."[96] However, he did recommend that, in the best interests of secondary education, the island be divided into four separate districts, each centred upon the island's four major towns, with each being its own higher education authority. Each district authority was to have representatives from the district parishes on its board (which was to be elected triennially, in keeping with the School Boards). This recommendation, eventually incorporated into the Bill, generated opposition from the pro-Whitehall M.H.K.'s and the citizenry who favoured

English-style centralization. As Mr. Corlett MHK stated in the house of Keys, April 30, 1907:

> Higher elementary education will mean one more master in at least every parish of the Island and also in the elementary schools of the towns of the Island, and, to manage this new master, you are going to have a new authority in every school. Did you ever hear of such childish nonsense?[97]

This sentiment was echoed by the Attorney General, who thought that the small School Boards were a scourge to the island and that Jackson, whose intent should have been centralization at the secondary as well as the elementary level (he did propose the amalgamation of all the petty Boards under one central authority) was mistaken in his endorsement of secondary decentralization. Four "potty" new bodies, in addition to the twenty-one already existing, was asking for mayhem.[98] Other MHK's pointed out that Manx people were generally apathetic about the whole higher education business and that scant few children stayed on at school beyond standard seven, especially in the country districts, where higher education was deemed an alien concept.[99] Jackson's statistics seemed to support this claim: across the island, there were only 47 students in Board and voluntary schools beyond the level of standard seven, the class which saw most children reach the age of fourteen, leave school and enter the work force. Of these 47 students, all but 11 would leave by the age of fifteen, although some 200 children (scattered throughout standards two - seven) were in school beyond the age of fourteen.[100] It was not a particularly positive picture, and Jackson's comments about applying the "Scotch Code" to the Isle of Man -- in light of the rigid regulations of Whitehall making for difficulty in the continuance of higher elementary schools -- showed that he considered Man to be more like Scotland than England in its system of schooling, the Scottish system still clinging on to its old school boards until 1930, an indication that he might have been correct in his assumption.

Cyril Jackson laid bare the condition of secondary schooling in Man in a manner which proved to be far from comforting for the pro-Whitehall party in Tynwald and town. There were only 13 secondary institutions on the island -- 2 public, 4 endowed grammar, 1 higher grade and 6 private -- catering to some 747 students between the ages of eight and twenty (yielding an average school size of 57). Excluding the 129 non-Manx boys attending King William's College, and the 187 under the age of 12, there were only 519 Manx students receiving what Jackson termed "higher education." (see Appendix K) In demographic terms, only 9.5 persons per thousand availed themselves of the island's post-elementary schools.[101] The revelation that secondary schooling was predominantly the preserve of the middle class, fee-paying strata of Manx society, whose eyes were turned to English universities as the gate-way for entry into the professions, brought home the fact there was little provision for the working class to receive any education of a secondary nature, except in Douglas, at the Higher Grade School. There was thus a bottleneck in Manx education at the age of fourteen for those who wished to proceed further with Morant-designed secondary education, especially for those able children belonging to the working class. Eventually, after much wrangling, both the Council and Keys passed the Higher Education act, 1907, a piece of legislation that was a compromise between the crown-appointed Council of Raglan and the representative Keys.

The 1907 Act: Secondary Education in the Wings

Under the terms of the 1907 Act, the island was divided into Jackson's four districts, centering upon Douglas, Ramsey, Peel and Castletown. Each was given a Higher Education Board comprising varying numbers of elected members (Douglas - 24, Ramsey - 17, Peel - 9 and Castletown - 13) who were empowered to provide secondary education in their respective districts --

-- subject to the approval of the Council of Education. Under their aegis fell the care of pupil-teachers, the provision of scholarships, travelling expenses, etc. of those attending secondary school, and the fulfillment of Whitehall's (or the Scotch Education Department's) regulations regarding such schools. No catechism or religious formulary of any particular religious denomination was to be taught in these schools, except for the familiar assembly and Bible reading with explanations -- i.e. Cowper-Temple religion.[102] A two-penny rate was to be applied island-wide, costing roughly ½d per head of population.

Unfortunately for Manx education, the four separate Higher Education Boards failed to live up to their expectations - exactly as the pro-Whitehall group had foretold. The Eastern District alone, centering upon Douglas, was the sole Board to provide secondary schooling, with its Higher Grade School now re-designated the Secondary School. All the other districts remained without secondary educational provision, a condition which was maintained until after the First World War. This failure was well-noted by Whitehall and Westminster, the latter especially when the House of Keys launched its claim for constitutional reform and greater self-determination during the years 1907 - 1911. The Speaker of the House of Keys, A.W. Moore, employed education as the centre point around which to build an argument for home rule in the struggle with the colonially-minded Lord Raglan and his Council. In part, the ploy was well-founded, but the Imperial Government took Man to task over its inadequacies in education, with secondary provision among the most notable.

In a petition to the Imperial Parliament in 1907, the Keys stated that the time had arrived in which the Manx people should be given a greater share and control of insular affairs. This was premised upon the fact that the Manx people were now better-educated than they had been forty years previously, when the last constitutional changes of any importance had been effected (1866 saw the Keys reformed, ushering in modernity politically, socially and economically). Compulsory education had achieved success since its 1872 inception, claimed the petition, providing the Manx with the necessary levels of acumen in citizenship, literacy and administration, the total experience of which augured well for self-government.[103] Therefore, the Lieutenant-Governor, Lord Raglan, and the Council -- the agents of Westminster -- should be limited in their powers.[104]

Lord Raglan forwarded the petition to the Home Office, March 1st 1907. He strongly opposed all the Keys'proposals, claiming that the Manx were unready to assume control of their own affairs, since they did not enjoy responsible government and were therefore unfitted for bearing the responsibility of governance of the island.[105] His protestations continued throughout 1908 and 1909, until the Home Office made some measure of reform in 1909, fixing the Lieutenant-Governor's term at seven years and allowing a minority of elected members to be admitted to the Legislative Council, in which the Vicar-General was to cease to be a member. This compromise between Raglan and the Keys -- or rather the Home Office and the Keys -- met with a lukewarm response from the latter, and the tension continued. A financial deadlock in 1911 saw the Keys increase a financial vote without the prior consultation with or assent of the Governor; the Keys refused to continue with any further business until their rights were recognized. Tynwald became a split body: the Council supported Raglan in his assertion of Imperial rights of control and the populace gave their support to the Keys. The Home Office joined in, castigating the Keys for disobedience and Raglan adjourned Tynwald amid scenes of defiance.

The MacDonnell Report, 1911

With the insular press now lending its general support to the cause of the Keys and Home Rule, a stand-off situation occurred. The Keys, Manx press and populace found themselves ranged against the Governor, the Council and the Home Office. Neither side was willing to offer the first move in reconciliation until the Home Office realized the seriousness of the situation. It accordingly appointed a committee to inquire into the possibility of Max constitutional reform. Lord MacDonnell headed five Imperial Members of Parliament and civil servants, who commenced their inquiry in Man of 1911.[106]

As part of its analysis of the status of Manx government, from its smallest to its largest aspects, the MacDonnell Committee examined the nature of Manx elementary and secondary education. The investigation proved to be a significant condemnation of most of what the Manx had taken to be a "good and sufficient" system. In particular, the organization, practice and control of insular education were found to be riddled with faults; little, apparently, was right with education in the Isle of Man, according to the Home Office investigators. Indeed, the Imperial condemnation was supported by the voices of the pro-Whitehall group, the Isle of Man Teachers' Association and the voluntaryists, all of whom found communal comfort in the attack upon Manx lethargy, backwardness and penny-pinching in any and all areas of education.

The Committee found that elementary education, administered by twenty-one School Boards, had the most appalling defect in organization, manifesting itself in "excessive parochialism in the management of the schools, in the inferior character of the education given in them, and in the inadequate housing and equipment of them."[107] The School Board personnel were found to be limited in their educational vision and jealous of their petty traditional rights, some eight Boards controlling a mere 713 children, while the Douglas School Board alone administered some 3,500 children -- nearly half the school-age population of the island.

The rates for elementary education were also lambasted: they comprised an ill-assorted levy of imbalance, ranging from 3d in Jurby and Braddan, to 10½d in Douglas and 1s 5d in Castletown, with the majority of the levies ranging between 5d and 8d.[108] Such disparity had long been a bone of contention with teachers and rate-payers alike and there was little reason for the disparity to be so diverse.

Administrative costs were deemed to be out of all proportion to the child population of the island. The obvious solution was that of amalgamation, for all the Boards to be brought within the functioning of one central education authority -- as Jackson had recommended in 1906 -- controlling not only elementary but secondary and technical education. Thus, the particularistic interests which had flared in the Rushen education crisis during the very month in which the MacDonnell Committee commenced its work would have been obviated.[109] If one authority was "repugnant to insular feeling," then two Boards -- one each for the north and the south -- might be more agreeable, it was thought. But no real progress could result, concluded MacDonnel, until centralization on English lines occurred, bringing town and country together. Indeed, the Isle of Man Teachers' Association fully endorsed this reform in administration, regarding the situation, which MacDonnell found, to be "chaotic," and had, since 1907, urged the formation of an English-style L.E.A. for the island,[110]

The higher Education Boards were shown to be totally inadequate for the task assigned to them: no co-operation with teachers or other educational experts was evident in their four years of operation, especially in the Northern, Southern and Western districts. Only the Douglas Secondary School somewhat fulfilled the expectations of the Council and Whitehall, since it was the only school of its kind existing, with a 2d rate levied for its support. Incredibly, the other districts levied anywhere from a farthing to 2d for non-existent services in secondary provision, a situation which perplexed many.[111] Insufficient money had been directed towards secondary education and the Commission advised Tynwald to review the whole matter, directing the legislature to provide for a new secondary establishment in Ramsey, with supplementary classes at Peel and Castletown. Also, the training of pupil teachers in their initial education was deemed to be totally inadequate (except in the Eastern District), as was the provision of technical education. Added to this was the observation that the education of females for specific socio-economic roles was notably lacking -- and here, Jackson's Report was quoted:

> In a community where so much depends on comfortable housing arrangements for visitors, it is surprising that so little has been done for training girls in practical housewifery. In the Isle of Man, this subject deserves very special attention, for well-cleaned rooms, good cooking, an attractively-laid table and deft waiting would be most valuable assets.[112]

Manx females, it was thought, would be better employed catering to the visitor industry as servants, kitchen maids, lounge waitresses, cooks and scullions. They were therefore thought of in terms of adjuncts to the economic system, and, if educated with that role in mind, were to be condemned to almost permanent servitude in home or boarding house, restaurant or shop.

But Manx females were not the only ones being dealt a poor hand in education: the voluntary schools were still being treated as their English counterparts had been before the turn of the century, and were excluded from the rates. Only four such schools remained (two Roman Catholic, one Anglican and one Wesleyan), educating some eight hundred children in Douglas and Ramsey, or approximately 10 percent of the island's 8,246 children on the registers at the time.[113] The woes of Manx voluntaryism were reminiscent of pre-Balfourian days in England. As the headmaster of St. Thomas' Church of England School in Douglas, Joseph E. Leece lamented, when writing to Lord MacDonnell in 1911:

> Notwithstanding the great difference in financial treatment, Manx voluntary school teachers are expected to produce the same educational results as are attained in the well-built, well-equipped and well-staffed schools on the mainland.[114]

In respect of this situation, the Commission recommended financial parity for voluntary schools in the island, with all education to be paid for on the same basis as in England, the as-yet-unpaid "whiskey money" to be directed towards higher education alone (this latter being accomplished in 1912). However, voluntaryism was left as the Commission found it -- struggling with increasing costs and Whitehall regulations, while the forty-three School Board elementary schools enjoyed the benefit of the rates for supplies, buildings and salaries, a situation which righted itself only in 1949. The voluntary schools were excluded from the support which their English counterparts had been granted since 1902.

Beyond the MacDonnell Commission: Home Rule Defeat and Parochialism 1912-14

As though to underscore the balkanized state of educational control in Man, as condemned by the MacDonnell Report, a situation known as the "Rushen Schools' Crisis" occurred at the same time as the Committee was compiling its evidence. Three head teachers -- William Cubbon, of the Rushen Parochial Boys' School, J.A. Place, of the Port St. Mary Boys' School and Essie Cain, of the Rushen Girls' School -- were dismissed from their offices by the Rushen School Board. The three had dared to voice their opinion, publicly, as to the state of secondary education in the Southern district, an area which comprised Castletown, Malew, Arbory and Rushen, where petty jealousies had split the four Boards in the building of a "secondary" school for pupils above standard five. The three heads were ordered to send their eligible pupils to the school by the clerk to the local Higher Education Board, but, since the education of the children would not have been significantly beneficial to warrant such a move, they refused to comply with the order, citing costs as being the major reason for non-compliance.[115]

The three offered their apologies to the Council of Education, which were duly accepted, and to the Rushen School Board (in whose jurisdiction the secondary school lay) who refused them. The Council then backed the requests of the Board and dismissed the heads from their positions in the schools. The whole matter was hotly debated in Tynwald, in the press on the island and the mainland and among the public at large. There was a feeling of general outrage at the petty injustice which had been summarily meted out, while the Board and its supporters were indignant that servants of an elected committee dared to criticize their superiors' policies and orders. Insubordination, by way of public criticism, was anathema to the accepted behaviour thought desirable by the chief agents of the Board and Council, and the latter body rubber-stamped what was termed the "Russian autocratic method" of governance.[116] Where supplementary education was being presented in the guise of higher education, and at a needless expense, the three members of the Teachers' Association felt an obligation to voice their concern.

The Rushen School Board disagreed with such behaviour. Eventually, after riotous meetings in the Castletown area, the Rushen School Board was voted out of office on November 25, 1911 and the three head teachers were reinstated to their positions. However, the Council of Education was discredited in its inadequate control of the jealous boards, both elementary and higher. Balkanization may well have had its positive aspects in the provision of participatory, democratic responsibility, but it showed glaring parochialism, exactly as many people had long pointed out.

The Isle of Man was thus shown to be saddled with a system of educational control and management which had long since been regarded as an anachronism. Parochial jealousies prohibited the proper centralization from taking place and the Council of Education seemed powerless to enforce it. Whitehall, meanwhile, showed the way for the resolution of the problem, but was hesitant to press for further imposition of the English model in view of the delicate nature of the confrontation on the Tynwald - Home Office front. The MacDonnell Commission had proposed reforms which were designed to placate Manx nationalism and at the same time relinquish few of the Imperial reigns traditionally cherished by London; these reforms might have had a soothing effect upon all levels of Manx society, education included, had they been carried out as they were intended. But otherwise, the reforms were still-born.[117] The Imperial Government was to maintain its supremacy of control in Manx affairs through the office of its chief agent, the Governor, and a slightly greater share of financial control was to be awarded Tynwald, inasmuch as the Manx budget was to be prepared for the Governor by government officers and Tynwald Board Chairmen, who would deal with the "voted" services (the "reserved" services being beyond the control of the Manx legislature). This latter allowance was actually made in 1913, by consent of the Governor, bringing the budget more under the control of Tynwald.

However, the approach of war in 1914 effectively placed the matter of internal colonial issues in a position of suspension until the external threat to British interests had been resolved.

The struggle for greater self-government was to continue during the First World War and afterwards. Education -- as might be expected -- found itself affected by the Tynwald-Whitehall contest, since education, as part of the Board-system inherent in Tynwald's post-1765 make-up, was a "voted" service. As such, it was liable to be shaped economically as finances dictated, and moulded according to mainland directives, both directly and indirectly.

In the meantime, Tynwald and the Manx Council of Education did manage to ensure greater security of life and limb for Manx children with the Children Act of 1910, and in deference to the recommendations of the MacDonnell Commission, evening classes were set up in the Northern, Western and Southern Districts, with attendance varying between two - forty students for classes in cookery, English, mathematics, drawing, book-keeping, etc., some £2,360 being granted from Manx revenues for such education.[118] Interestingly, of the 7,954 children of school age (5 - 14) on the registers in Manx schools in 1912, only 118 were between fourteen and fifteen years of age, while only 14 were above fifteen years of age -- an indication, perhaps, of the lack enthusiasm for "secondary" education by Manx parents, who seemed loath to keep their children in school longer than was statutarily needed, the 132 "beyond elementary" students being a mere 1.6 percent of the total group. There was a certified teacher for every forty-eight children (totalling some 146 fully-trained teachers), with 67 uncertified, 21 supplementary and 24 student and pupil teachers, constituting 69 male and 189 female teaching personnel staffing the 46 schools.[119]

All in all, it was felt that since the flurries of 1912 (i.e. MacDonnell, the Rushen Crisis and the addition of whiskey money) the whole tone of Manx education had been raised with the new efforts at supplementary education. As W.M. Kerruish noted in Tynwald, May 14, 1912: "We are all novices so far as higher education is concerned. It is a new thing amongst us, ... "[120] Here indeed was an admission of the feelings of MHK's as regards state-provided post-elementary ventures in Man. At the same time, fears were expressed concerning the future of Manx personnel in the island's teaching force: the pupil-teacher system had felt the effects of Morant's axe (as previously mentioned), and fewer native Manx men and women were finding their way into the profession. The net result was that the importation of English teachers was a forced solution to the problem of declining Manx personnel and the balance of Manx and English teachers in the schools began to change, although all personnel were trained in mainland training colleges. With this change came a greater desire for the paralleling of Manx education, in the way of standards and procedures, with those of England. Greater conformity with the English model was demanded by the Isle of Man Teacher's Association, the 'twenties and 'thirties especially showing this trait.

Suspended Animation: 1914

The approach of conflict with the Central Powers in 1914 delayed Manx political aspirations, exactly as it did with Man's Gaelic neighbour to the west, Ireland. But, while that island was gearing itself up for internal conflict, the Manx tacitly accepted what the Imperial Government had decided for them. The Irish had managed to get a home rule bill passed in the Commons in 1912, which was due to come into operation in 1914, but the Manx were accorded no parallel gesture: they had no voice in Westminster and wielded no political clout in the Imperial chambers. Consequently, Man, as a de facto off-shore English county, resigned itself to solidarity with the mainland during the course of the war.

Educationally, however, the scene in Man was fraught with gnawing questions over the future. It was obvious to many that the multiplicity of boards -- the "twenty-one and four" -- were not adequate to the task of providing increasingly rigorous standards in education, as were being developed on the mainland. Indeed, in Tynwald, the matter of education was an ever-present concern and some MHK's were aware of organizational and financial short-comings. Imperial aid for schooling was not as generous as it had been in the past.

This at least was the feeling of R.S. Corlett, MHK who thought that some £3,000 annually was necessary to bring Manx schools up to the same standard as English schools. "We go to England for a code and we tie ourselves to this code," stated Corlett.[120] Yet secondary education was hardly being practised as the code prescribed: Manx youth had little chance, outside of Douglas, of emulating the English example of the "free place ladder" into the realm of higher learning and the middle class -- despite obvious elitism which this preferential filtering system engendered. Far from being the case, such establishment stalwarts as the Clerk of the Rolls and the Attorney-General were set against giving higher education to the "poorer classes," whose maturity took place at an earlier period in life and who therefore needed to think about getting into the work-force at an appropriately junior age. But HMI's H.H. Hoffort and M. Nicholson were correct in their thinking that there was not enough practical training for the island's youth. They regarded the absence of provision in instruction for such servant-oriented classes as a "serious defect in the educational facilities of the island."[122] The advance of Whitehall money to provide further education within a grammar school context for such lower forms of Manx life was judged to be against the nature of things, and therefore a waste of money.

But the Manx nationalists, partly in order to descredit the English, set themselves against such narrow thinking, geared as it was to the convenience of the summer visitors. They feared that a nation of machines would be created in Man by such instruction, fitting the youth for nothing other than being "engaged in agriculture, and the running of hotels and boarding houses."[123] W.M. Kerruish, MHK, in speaking against such class-confining and station-condemning education, stated that he deplored the effect of the visiting traffic upon the Isle of Man, and, as a patriot Manxman, was sorry that the Isle had ever seen a visitor.[124] But, as he had to admit, the visitor was an economic fact of life. As such, some aspects of Manx education would have to be coloured by the visitor-presence -- or so it seemed. The war, which changed so much of the old order of things in Europe, changed thinking too. The nature and control of Manx education were to undergo striking changes: the Manx were to set themselves apart from the English model in a number of respects. However, they were still tied to Whitehall's purse strings and to the English code of standards. Manx education was, to all intents and purposes, an appendage set free to explore a limited amount of space at the discretion of Whitehall. But what was not yet apparent was that considerable deviancy was at hand: the Manx were preparing to abandon certain parts of the ideology associated with the English educational paradigm. It was this anomaly which was to prove most interesting in its development. From being an educational backwater, external and internal events were to shape Manx schooling into something new in the experience of the British Isles.

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[1] All passengers from the steamships had to be ferried by rowing boat into Douglas from the bay. Charles Dickens vividly describes the landing on his visit to the island in 1866, at 1.30 am:

> "We meantime descend the side into new boats, look up a moment at the great black side of the vessel dimly looming down on us, with a red eye glaring out askance at us, see a fresh boat laden with fresh pirates and fresh mountains of baggage gliding up out of the darkness, then push away for shore." (Charles Dickens, "A Tight Little Island," All the Year Round, December 29, 1866, p. 12.)

[2] **Richard Wheatley**, "Home Rule in the Isle of Man," Harper's Magazine, September 1887, p. 518. The letters of Brown's son, John A. Brown, fired the British press to protest the Key's situation in Man.

[3] See: **A.W. Moore,** A History of the Isle of Man 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900; reprint ed., Manx Museum and National Trust, 1977), p. 812; D.G. Kermode, Devolution at Work: A Case Study of the Isle of Man (Westmead, Farnborough, Hampshire: Saxon House, 1979), p. 31; and Spencer Walpole, The Land of Home Rule: An Essay on the History and Constitution of the Isle of Man (London: Longman's, Green and Company, 1893.

[4] **Walpole,** Land of Home Rule, p. 265.

[5] **C.W. Airne,** The Story of the Isle of Man 2 vols., vol. 2: 1406 to Modern Times (Douglas: Norris Modern Press Ltd., 1964), p. 159. The reform of 1919 followed the MacDonnell Commission Inquiry of 1911, which also investigated the elementary and secondary educational provision in the island, revealing chronic abuses and excessive parochialism. This was remedied in 1922.

[6] **John Lawson and Harold Silver,** A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen and Co., 1973), pp. 290-1.

[7] **Rev. J.B. Marsden,** Memoirs of the Life and Labours of the Rev. Hugh Stowell (London: Hamilton Addams and Co., 1868), pp. 206-6.

[8] Mona's Herald, July 9, 1862. One could believe in the Voluntary Schools without being a voluntaryist. Voluntaryism in the Baines sense of the 1840's meant resistance to state control and therefore financing of education. It had nothing necessarily to do with religion. Thus, John Stuart Mill and Karl Max could be labelled "voluntaryists", though both were atheists.

[9] **Editorial,** "Education of the People," Mona's Herald, December 4, 1867.

[10] **Editorial,** Education of the People," Mona's Herald, January 22, 1868. With references to literacy, see: David Cressy, "Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730," The Historical Journal 20 (1977) and "Literacy in Pre-Industrial England," Societas 4 (1974). Also see:

E.C. West, "Literacy and the Industrial Revolution." The Economic History Review 31 (August 1978): R. S. Schofield, "Dimensions of Illiteracy, 1750-1850," Explorations in Economic History (summer 1973) and Lawrence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900," Past and Present 42 (February 1964).

[11] **Ibid.**

[12] "Statistics of Crime in the Isle of Man," Mona's Herald, May 6, 1868. The general figures showed that 487 could read and write, 94 could read but not write and 261 could do neither.

[13] **Editorial,** "The Ragged School," Mona's Herald, April 21, 1869.

[14] **Editorial,** "The Demoralization of Children," Mona's Herald, September 1, 1869.

[15] "Ragged School," Mona's Herald.

[16] Mona's Herald, September 15, 1869.

[17] Mona's Herald, April 29, 1868.

[18] **A.W. Moore,** "An Historical Sketch of the Manx Language, with an Account of the Sources from which a Knowledge of it can be Acquired," Yn Lioar Manninagh (IOMNHAS) 1 (March 1880 - 1892): 131.

[19] See: **Tony Faragher, ed.,** Isle of Man Official Year Book: 1984 (Ramsey: Motor in Mann Publications Ltd., 1984), p. 170: Airne, Story, p. 144; and E.H. Stenning, Portrait of the Isle of Man (London: Robert Hale, 1958; reprint ed., 1968), p. 131.

[20] Mona's Herald, May 11, 1864. Ramsey Grammar School had been defunct since 1803, when English funds were cut, thereby terminating the endowment and the operation of the school.

[21] Mona's Herald, November 3, 1869.

[22] **Ibid.**

[23] **Editorial,** "The New Education Bill," Mona's Herald, December 1. 1869.

[24] "It is not probable that the House of Keys will act so suicidally as to pass a Manx Bill before it has had the advantage of learning the provisions of the English Bill. Manxmen don't want to be laughed at for fear of introducing something considered a joke by English educationalists." (Mona's Herald, December 29, 1869)

[25] "The Keys and the Education Bill," Mona's Herald, March 9, 1870.

[26] "Educational Statistics Prepared by Order of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor: Summary of the Various Schools in the Isle of Man." (December: 1869-70). See also Appendix J.

[27] **R.H. Kinvig,** The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural and Political History (Liverpool: University Press, 1975), pp. 148-9. The largest water wheel in the world, the "Lady Isabella," was built at Laxey in 1854. It was designed by a Manxman, Roger Casement, and is a masterpiece of engineering: it has a diameter of 72 ft 6 ins, a breadth of 6 ft and a circumference of 217 ft. It has a top speed of two revolutions per minute, and, in its heyday, raised 250 gallons of water a minute from a depth of 1,800 ft in the lead mine below. The water to supply the wheel was brought from the reservoirs in the mountains and ascended through a circular pillar to the top of the wheel. (from: H.O. Wade, Geographica Guide: Isle of Man: Ellan Vannin Veg Veen (Geographica Ltd., undated), p. 56)

[28] Letter to the editor, signed, "Lord Tom Noddy," Mona's Herald, September 22, 1871.

[29] **Bernard Mandeville,** "An Essay on Charity Schools," The Fable of the Bees, edited, with an intro. by Phillip Harth (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 294.

[30] **"Lord Tom Noddy,"** ibid.

[31] Report of the Education Commission, November 10, 1871 (Douglas: J. Brown and Sons, 1871), pp. 8-11. The critical age group, that of the five - twelve year olds (Schedule #1, part 5) is shown below on a parish and town basis:

Parish or Town		Number of Children	Number on School Books	Number not Attending
Parish of	Patrick	640	443	197
	German	381	260	121
	Marown	238	43	195
	Michael	205	114	91
	Ballaugh	186	59	127
	Jurby	154	86	68
	Andreas	322	181	141
	Bride	177	77	100
	Lezayre	304	183	121
	Maughold	297	87	210
	Lonan	789	352	437
	Conchan	300	101	199
	Braddan	417	252	165
	Santon	123	86	37
	Malew	488	281	207
	Arbory	241	125	116
	Rushen	729	449	280
Town of	Castletown	408	348	60
	Douglas	2,370	1,620	750
	Peel	688	500	188
	Ramsey	787	488	299
	Total:	10,244	6,135	4,109

It should be noted that approximately 40.1 percent of the child population of this age-group (five - twelve) attended no form of day school. Of the 59.8 percent who did attend, there is no record of the average number of days attended per child during the year, only that 6,135 children were actually on the books of the various schools within the parishes. Thus, names on a register do not necessarily denote full attendance and an adequate literacy-rating. By the same token, non-attendance at a day school does not signify illiteracy, since literacy in its most elementary form could have been attained at a Sunday school. Interestingly, the above document shows some 6,135 children in the twelve - seventeen age-group in attendance at school, with a further 31 over the age of seventeen at school. At the other end of the scale, of the 6,958 children in the island under the age of five years, only 599 attended some form of school, a percentage of 8.6.

[32] *Statutes of the Isle of Man*, (Douglas: Brown and Son, 1891) vol. 4, 1872-1878: "The Education Act, 1872," p. 82.

[33] **Ibid.**, p. 62.

[34] **Moore**, *History*, p. 694.

[35] *Statutes*, 4, p. 70.

[36] **E.W. Corlett**, "The Development of Education in the Isle of Man," (M. Ed. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1931), p. 61. M.M.MS 1531 c.

[37] *Second Report of the Board of Education for the Isle of Man* (Douglas: Harriet Curphey, 1874), p. 3.

[38] See the *Third*, *Fourth*, *Fifth*, *Sixth*, and *Seventh Reports of Education for the Isle of Man*, 1875-79.

[39] *Mona's Herald*, September 1873.

[40] *Mona's Herald*, October 29, 1873.

[41] *Seventh Report of the Board of Education for the Isle of Man*, 1879, p. 13.

[42] **Ibid.**, p. 12.

[43] *Eighth Report of the Board of Education for the Isle of Man*, 1880, p. 12.

[44] See: **Moore**, "Manx Language," pp. 131-2.

[45] *Mr. Lindsell's Report on the Public Elementary School Accommodation in Douglas* (Douglas: January, 1881), pp. 5-6.

[46] For coverage of this issue in the press, see in particular: *Mona's Herald*, March 31, September 15, 1880; February 9, June 29, 1881; and Joseph Johnson, "Douglas Board Schools: An Omitted Chapter in Mr. A.W.

Moore's History of the Isle of Man," Isle of Man Times, May 11, 1901.

[47] Ninth Report of the Board of Education for the Isle of Man, 1881, p. 15. Davies also commented that he did not think the Manx children were naturally inferior in power and intelligence to English children -- an interesting comment, betraying perhaps surprise that English children were much the same as Manx in their abilities. Davies was not the first English H.M.I. to bring elements of enthnocentrism with him across the Irish Sea. See also: Eighth Report - 1880, pp. 11-14. Oakeley stated in Kennedy's 1877 report to Tynwald that compulsion was not employed in the island, especially in Castletown. "The Manx Board of Education ought to insist upon a better discharge of their duties in this matter by the several school committees of the Island." (ibid., p. 13).

[48] See: Seventeenth Report of the Board of Education for the Isle of Man, p. 6. In some districts, there was actually a decrease in attendance by as much as 8 percent.

[49] Mona's Herald, August 28, 1889.

[50] Mona's Herald, September 22, 1885.

[51] Report of the School Committee of Douglas Review of Proceedings, November 1, 1884 - October 31, 1887, p. 19.

[52] Statutes, vol. 5 (1878-1886), 1894: "An Act to Amend the Elementary Education Acts and to Make Provision with Respect to Industrial Schools," pp. 133 and 136.

[53] Mona's Herald, October 10, 1888.

[54] M.M.MS 2352 and MS 7 (3)-3581.

[55] Manx Sun, July 21, 1894.

[56] "The Times" Reports of Debates in the Manx Legislature (Douglas: Brown and Sons, 1891) vol. 8, Council, November 17, 1891, p. 166.

[57] **Ibid.**, p. 206.

[58] Debates, 9, 1892, Council, March 11, 1892, p. 549.

[59] Debates, 10, 1893, Council, January 19, 1893, pp. 232-3. At this time, some 6,931 students were enrolled in thirty-five Board and twelve denominational schools and were receiving grants totalling £6, 301, with £5,897 coming from the Education Department and £299 from the Science and Art Department. (see: Twenty-First Report of the Board of Education for the Isle of Man, 1893, p. 8.)

[60] "The Government Education Bill," The Manxman, February 27, 1897, 19.

[61] **Ibid.**

[62] Twenty-Seventh Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1899, p. 64. See Also: Twenty-Sixth Report, 1898, pp. 57-58. The expenditure of voluntary school was £7,108 compared with £12,796 in 1897.

[63] Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser, November 27, 1897.

[64] Debates, 15, 1897-8, Legislative Council, January 13, 1898, pp. 119-20. Also: Isle of Man Times, January 22, 1898.

[65] **Ibid.** As Canon Savage, the leader of the voluntaryist deputation to Governor Henniker stated:

> "An additional vote of £800 will not only keep in existence and in efficiency the voluntary schools in Douglas, but schools having 2,000 children in other parts of the Island as well; and yet it would cost £1,000 to educate the Douglas children alone if they were thrown on the School Committee." (Isle of Man Times, October 9, 1897.)

[66] Isle of Man Times, October 9, 1897. See also: Edmund Walsh, The Manx Government and Voluntary Schools. Voluntary Schools Treated as Outlanders: Appeal to the Governor (pamphlet), 1902.

[67] "Manx Voluntaryists and the New Education Act," The Manxman, October 9, 1897, p. 3.

[68] See: Statutes, 7 (1896-1905), 1912, p. 246.

[69] "The Education Commission's Report," The Manxman, October 23, 1897, p. 12.

[70] Commission on Secondary Education (Douglas: Brown and Sons, 1897), p. iv.

[71] **Ibid.,** p. xiv.

[72] **Ibid.,** p. xvii.

[73] **Ibid.,** p. iv.

[74] **Ibid.,** p. xiii.

[75] Suggested subjects were:
Girls: cookery, laundry-work, housewifery, dressmaking, book-keeping, typewriting, shorthand, dairy work.
Boys: manual work, mechanical drawing, navigation, mathematics, book-keeping, shorthand, French, agriculture. (ibid.)

[76] **Ibid.**

[77] "The Education Commission's Report," The Manxman, October 23, 1897, p. 12.

[78] See: **Eric Eaglesham,** From School Board to Local Authority (London:

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956) and Eric Eaglesham, The Foundations of Twentieth-Century Education in England (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 39.

[79] "Around the Douglas Board Schools: the Effects of Education," The Manxman, November 27, 1897, p. 2. These figures are exaggerated and bear no resemblance to statistics for the Isle of Man in the 1860's (see chapter 4).

[80] **Ibid.**

[81] The Manxman, April 17, 1897, p. 6. Attendance averages for Man and England and Wales in 1900 show that the Manx had 85.41 percent of school-age children attending regularly, while England and Wales managed only 81.5 percent (see: Twenty-Eighth Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1900, p. 61.

[82] Isle of Man Times, November 20, 1897.

[83] "An Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to, and Protection of, Children," Statutes 7, pp. 273-284.

[84] Debates, 16 (May 29, 1900), p. 505.

[85] **Ibid.**

[86] **Kermode**, Devolution, p. 35.

[87] "Report of the Rev. F.F. Cornish on Education in the Isle of Man," Thirtieth Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1902, Appendix Y, p. 69.

[88] See: Letter of Bishop's resignation, Debates, 23, Tynwald Court, January 30, 1906, p. 147.

[89] See, for instance: Isle of Man Examiner, May 13, 1905, and October 7, 1905.

[90] Debates, 22, Council, March 21, 1905, pp. 458-489.

[91] **Ibid.**, House of Keys, May 23, 1902, p. 892.

[92] **Ibid.**, p. 893.

[93] Isle of Man Examiner, August 26, 1905.

[94] Debates, 22, House of Keys, May 23, 1905, p. 895.

[95] Letter, Bishop Straton to Lieutenant-Governor Raglan, January 4, 1906, in: Debates, 23, Tynwald Court, January 30, 1906, p. 148. A.W. Moore was persuaded to resume his office as a member of the Council of Education, while the Clerk of the Rolls and the Deemster Callow were elected by Tynwald to replace the Bishop and the Archdeacon on the Council.

[96] Debates, 24, Council, January 24, 1907, p. 248.

[97] **Ibid.**, Keys, April 30, 1907, p. 943.

[98] Isle of Man Examiner, May 11, 1907.

[99] M.H.K. Quayle pointed out that in the sheading of Glenfaba, there were only 111 students in standards five to seven, all of whome were intent upon leaving their completion of standard seven. Further, there were only three boys in all the island's country schools in standard ex-seven, and only forty-three in standard seven. Quayle concluded, after surveying the statistics: "There is nothing to show that this Bill is wanted in our country districts." (Debates,24, Keys, April 30, 1907, p. 955.

[100] Isle of Man Council of Education, Report on Secondary and Higher Elementary Education, by Cyril Jackson, Chairman, July, 1906, p. 56.

[101] **Ibid.**, p. 8. The population of the Isle of Man at this time was approximately 58,000 with some 8,950 pupils on the registers at elementary schools. (see Appendix K for enrollments in the island's secondary schools)

[102] Higher Education Act, 1907, Statutes, 8 (1906-1909), 1921, pp. 98-113.

[103] "The Petition of the House of Keys, February 27, 1907," Appendix I, Isle of Man Constitution Committee, Report of the Constitution of the Isle of Man, by Lord MacDonnell, Chairman. 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: H.M.S.O., Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1912), p. 241. M.M. MS 8825 D 151/23 x.

[104] The demands of the Keys were as follows:
1. The Lieutenant-Governor was to be appointed for a fixed term and was to be assisted by an Executive Council in all questions of government and finance.
2. A majority of the Legislative Council was to be directly elected, with only a minority appointed by the Crown.
3. The police were to be placed under the control of Tynwald and not the Lieutenant-Governor alone.
4. The Archdeacon and the Vicar-General were to cease being members of the Legislative Council.
5. There was to be only one Deemster and the Attorney General was to be prohibited from private practice.

[105] **Kermode,** Devolution, pp. 35-36.

[106] **Ibid.**, pp. 36-37. See also: Isle of Man Examiner, May 13, 20, 1911.

[107] MacDonnell Report, vol. 2, p. 25.

[108] **Ibid.**, p. 275.

[109] This crisis brought home the weakness of parochialism at a most opportune time and was the subject of much coverage in the insular press and in Tynwald. The MacDonnell Committee's recommendations were realized by many to be the only way to avoid such unfortunate incidents in the future.

[110] **Ibid.,** Appendix XXVI, p. 274. J.H. Boardman, the president of the Association, addressed this issue in a letter, dated June 11.

[111] **Ibid.,** appendix XXVIII, p. 275. The rating in the pound sterling for higher education was as follows:

five	Boards	levied	nothing
eight	"	"	½d
one	"	"	1d
one	"	"	11/4d
one	"	"	1½d
five	"	"	2d

[112] **Ibid.,** p. 25, quoted from page 7 of Jackson's Report on Secondary and Higher Elementary Education in the Island.

[113] See: J.E. Leece's letter to the Commission, MacDonnel Report, vol. 2, Appendix XXVI, p. 273, and the Thirty-Ninth Report of the Council of Education, 1911, pp. 86-87.

[114] **Leece,** Letter. The question on financial aid for Manx Voluntary Schools was also raised in Parliament in Man and June of 1912. The Secretary of State for the Home Department, Mr. Reginald McKenna, had no knowledge of the lack of funding when asked on May 21 by a member of the House, Mr. Bridgeman. McKenna subsequently reported that Manx voluntary schools were indeed denied the same financial privileges as those on the mainland. Despite Bridgeman's proposal that Lord Raglan be instructed to "place before the island legislature proposals for placing the voluntary schools on a satisfactory footing and for carrying out such other educational reforms as shall put the island schools in a position equal to that enjoyed by public elementary schools in Great Britain," nothing was done. (see: Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Debates (Commons) 5th Series, 38 (1912): 1742; and 40 (1912): 207-8).

[115] See: Debates, 29, Tynwald Court, September 17, 1911, pp. 8-11; Isle of Man Examiner, July 8, September 23, 1911.

[116] "Rushen Education Crisis," Isle of Man Examiner, July 8, 1911.

[117] **Kermode,** Devolution, p. 37. The reforms would have seen the Lieutenant-Governor remain as powerful as ever, but limited to a fixed term of appointment, with the Legislative Council reconstituted with a view to improving the position of the Keys (four members of the lower chamber were to be elected to serve in the Council's ranks). The Council would then comprise ten members altogether, presided over by the Lieutenant-Governor: two Deemsters, the Bishop, the Attorney-General, two nominees of the Governor and the four elected Keys. The Archdeacon, the Vicar-General, one judge and the Receiver-general were to have lost their seats. No board of Tynwald was to control the police and no Executive Council was to advise the Governor. These changes were effected in Tynwald's Isle of Man Constitution Amendment Act, 1919. Not everyone was in disagreement with Imperial control of Manx affairs. G. Fred Clucas, writing in Mannin, 1916, had this to say:

> Assuming that the object which the Manx nation desires to attain is greater power to manage her own affairs, it must be clearly understood that under no conceivable circumstances is it possible for her

> to obtain entirely free and uncontrolled management of them, and indeed, it is far from certain that such absolute independence would be desirable, and probably the opinion of the majority is that a certain control - by the imperial over the local authority - is imperative and salutary, as introducing a wider outlook and more breadth of view into what would otherwise tend to become narrow and parochial. (G.Fred Clucas, "Should Our National Legislature be abolished?" Mannin (November 1916: 477.

[118] Fortieth Report of the Council of Education, 1912, pp. 7-11. Elementary education accounted for £8,100 by comparison, for a total of £16,029. Forty-six elementary schools (forty-two Board/Council, four denominational) serviced some 7,300 children at this time, the latter schools accounting for 655 pupils, or 8.9 percent of the elementary school population. The cost of keeping both Board and denominational pupils in school was £3 4 6 and £ 2 5 1 per year respectively. (ibid., p. 104)

[119] **Ibid.**, pp. 100 and 109. Although there was only one certified teacher for every forty-eight children in Manx schools, the ratio in England was 1:53, in Scotland 1:56 and in Wales 1:63. The Manx schools therefore had the best of ratios in this respect. (ibid.)

[120] Debates, 29, Tynwald Court, May 14, 1912, p. 411.

[121] Debates, 31, Tynwald Court, June 9, 1914, p. 480.

[122] "Reports of H.M. Inspectors," Forty-Second Report of the Council of Education, 1914, p. 96.

[123] Debates, 30, Tynwald Court, January 28, 1913, p. 161. These fears, as expressed by Mr. Cormode, M.H.K., were perhaps well-founded, in view of the past schemes which had been proposed for Manx working class children. Education for specific roles was nothing new in the British Isles.

[124] **Ibid.**, p. 163. The problem posed by the influx of English visitors had indeed caused many such Manxmen to ponder was concerned about the seasonality of work caused by the massive "hordes of visitors" who came for the summer, requiring the services of household servants, car drivers, boatmen, porters etc. for only a short time. When the season ended, so did their employment:

> "Thus, though the amount of money brought by the summer visitors is far greater than that expended by the permanent residents whom they have succeeded, and though it has enriched the steamship companies, the banks, the hotel, boarding and lodging-house keepers, the various corporations which provide recreation and amusement, the tradesmen, and, to a lesser extent, the owners and occupiers of land, the temporarily employed class referred to, which, before 1866, was almost non-existent, has created a new problem in the way of pauperism as distinct from poverty." (Moore, History, vol. 2, p. 687.)

Indoor and outdoor relief totalled approximately one thousand persons at the turn of the century, many housed in the Poor Asylum which was created by the permissive Poor Law of 1888 and administered by Tynwald's Asylums Board. The cost of such maintenance of the poor was approximately £5,100 for all for all the towns and parishes participating in the scheme circa 1900. (ibid., pp. 690-1)

CHAPTER VII

THE ENGLISH MODEL IN MAN: REORGANIZATION

1914 - 1950

1914 - 1921: Parish Prejudice to National Responsibility

The First World War (1914-18) revealed much in the way of deficiencies in British education. The system which had been developed on the mainland and in Man had divided the state programming of education into two main branches, essentially along class lines: elementary, for the working class and secondary for the middle class. A "ladder" attachment for those able to climb from the former to the latter was provided in the form of the "free place system." This natural selection of the mentally superior opened the eyes of many to the possibilities of betterment and escape from one class to the other via the vehicle of education. Many modern socialists have deplored the act of elevation from working class to middle class. Raymond Williams, in particular, has viewed this as an act of betrayal of class and culture, of one group patronizing selected choices from a lower group for inclusion in its own ranks.[1] Be that as it may, the fact is that education was ordered for the classes it was meant to serve and such educational demarcation was, begrudgingly, admitted to be flawed. The Imperial Government was therefore prompted to conclude that state intervention was needed on an even greater scale in order to satisfy the needs of British society in many areas, with education being paramount.

"The outstanding defect, as it appeared to progressive thinkers, was the narrowness of the system,"[2] and during the "reign of Sir Robert Morant" this made for training in followership for the working classes, Morant espousing what might be termed "static" elementary education.[3] The idea of secondary education for all could not make headway until it became recognized that more than one type of secondary school might be utilized, contrary to the dictates of Morant. Secondary education did not have to limit itself to an academic curriculum in a grammar school, and indeed, the British Government had outlined proposals for the development of a comprehensive system of education prior to 1914, in which all types of secondary schools, from central and technical to trade, might be included.

At any rate, the feeling on many levels of society -- the Manx included -- was that the state could do more for the young than it had; social policy was becoming more directly a public concern. Public interest in education was raised to a new level of expectation and at the cessation of hostilities, the work of educational reconstruction thrust itself to the fore.[4]

On the mainland, the demand for entrance to secondary schools came as a result of a better standard of living gained by workers in the munitions and related industries, who had more money than they had ever had and who were determined to give their children a better education than they themselves had received -- and, additionally, a better start in life. Fees were no longer a problem to this nouveau riche group and the secondary schools subsequently became indundated with clientele. It was recognized, at last, that elementary education was but a stage of education and not a finite mode in itself; secondary education -- for all -- was in the offing, and long before the war had ceased, plans were laid for a "better world" educationally. The Isle of Man, meanwhile, was affected by wartime conditions in its own way and its problems were no less important simply because they were on a smaller scale than those experienced on the mainland.

The Manx, as part of the community of the British Isles, had made sacrifices during the hostilities and were equally desirous of bettering their lives after the war. But considerable disruption had occured. No visitors arrived in anywhere near the numbers which the pre-war years had witnessed,[5] and most of the steamers had been requisitioned by the British Government for war duties, which effectively halted any form of visitation. All those engaged in the visitor industry -- which now touched almost every person in the island to some degree -- faced economic hardship of a kind not experienced by the Manx since the advent of British control in 1765. Restrictions abounded and rationing produced an austerity far more severe than was experienced on the mainland.[6]

The Keys, meanwhile, continued their struggle with the Imperial Parliament (1916-1918), attempting to wrest control of income tax revenues on the island from the Treasury. In part, they were successful: such revenues could be applied to purposes determined by Tynwald in 1918, although assent by the Treasury was still needed, and the whole of the Manx budget remained subject to Treasure control.[7] Meanwhile, Manx educational developments during the war centred upon gaining provisions that might be termed "welfare measures" more than anything else, centering as they did upon accommodation for the blind and deaf children, school meals and grammar school re-founding. The 1915 Education Act finally recognized the need for the education of the blind and deaf children, the Act requiring that every Board provide education for such handicapped students, in addition to "defective" and epilectic children. The Asylums Board of Tynwald was to aid in the funding for such clients.[8] A twenty-shilling fine was authorized for the non-compliance of this group and all children in general. In addition, the co-option of females to the four Higher Education Boards was prescribed by this Act -- an interesting aside on Manx views concerning the responsibilities of women: their numbers on the Boards were limited and they were not allowed to "speak or vote on any resolution for levying a rate or for determining the amount to be raised by rates ...."[9] The same Act also saw school meals become a part of elementary provision on the island, with school canteen committees organized to help feed youngsters in all districts -- an eventuality made more urgent as the defects of rationing and poor economic circumstances hit many of the families in towns and villages.

But those who had profited from the war were looking more towards education at the secondary level in the hope that a better foundation for life would be given to their children. Accordingly, Douglas was witness to an act which was to herald Manx interests in secondary schooling with regard to the re-vamping of grammar schools. The Douglas Grammar School, first founded in 1706 during Bishop Wilson's initial years on the island, was amalgamated with a private school known as the "Middle School" or the "Douglas Grammar School," an institution founded by Francis Amelia Hall in 1858. The re-vamped school's trustees included the Bishop and were all Anglican, with the exception of the member who represented the Council of Education. It was his duty to ensure compliance with the 1907 Act, especially with regard to "scholarship children" from the state elementary schools.[10] Higher (secondary) education grants from Whitehall were now approaching twenty-two percent of the total expenditures on Manx education at the conclusion of the war (higher education being £3,670 and elementary education being £6,200 from a total budget of £16,842 during 1918-1919[11]). Consequently, Whitehall was keenly interested in the Council of Education's plans for the future, and indeed, the H.M.I. of Evening Schools in the Isle of Man suggested that free scholarships should be awarded to students who attended evening classes following their leaving of the day school, in order to secure incentive in post-elementary learning.[12]

However, it was from the mainland that the cue came for the launching of greater aims in education. H.A.L. Fisher's Education Act of 1918 provided the impetus for major reforms within the Manx system, and not, perhaps, before time. Fisher was concerned with three main areas of neglect in the English system: the low physical condition of the children of the working class; the lack of adequate secondary schools; and the neglect of the working class in the field of equality of educational opportunity beyond the elementary level. He discerned that a "new way of thinking" had sprung up among the more "reflecting members of the industrial army," who did not want education only to earn higher wages:

> They do not want it in order that they may rise out of their own class, always a vulgar ambition, they want it because they know that in the treasures of the mind they can find an aid to good citizenship, a source of pure enjoyment and a refuge from the necessary hardships of life 13

In his words, "social solidarity" had been created by conscription, with the poor pouring out their blood and being "mulcted" for the policies of their betters. Indeed, the industrial workers were now to be considered citizens in the fullest [illegible] fit subjects for any form of education from which they are capable of profiteering." (sic). The future required intelligent responses to demands upon the community and this could only be effected through "further sacrifices in order to form and fashion the minds of the young."[14]

Fisher's Act ended the half-time system which the Manx working class had long envied. It substituted continuation schools in its stead. Fees in elementary schools were also abolished, the school leaving age was moved to fourteen, children were restricted in their employment, and medical inspection and treatment for children were introduced on a regular basis. Grants for nursery schools came in and it was the duty of the L.E.A.'s to provide for the older and more able pupils in elementary schools, i.e., permitting elementary schools to give "secondary education" to those unable to attend proper secondary institutions -- the grammar and central schools. A major step in the concept of secondary education for all had thus been taken, bringing about what H.C. Dent has called "momentous consequences" in its train.[15] This was to have momentous consequences too, in the Isle of Man, since "institutional imitation" would be required yet again in order to bring about parity with the English model in the secondary sphere -- an area neglected by the Counil of Education and its Secondary Districts, with the notable exception of the Eastern District, centred upon metropolitan-conscious Douglas.

The desire for admission into secondary schools in Man -- in the event of its occurrence -- could not be accommodated by the system (and neither could it in the English: in 1919, 18,000 children who had "qualified" for entry into secondary schools by way of the "free place system" were excluded for lack of places[16]), and it was obvious that a screening process at the age of eleven-plus would be needed -- a process which had already been in operation to some degree since the advent of the "free place system" in 1907. The age of the "eleven-plus" examination had dawned. It was to be a notorious side-effect of Fisher's "new way of thinking," since "social solidarity" did not in any circumstance mean educational parity. Such thinking was to cause untold grief to many in England and the Isle of Man before the latter country determined to resolve the problem and create greater social solidarity by adopting a more "North American way of thinking", which the filtering ladder system did not encompass.

The 1921 Act and Realignment

The Manx, in view of the Fisher Legislation, finally resolved to bring their educational machinery to order. Having experienced the centralization of government through the necessities of war (with conscription and food-rationing) and having voiced little opposition to such Imperial measures, the Manx were perhaps more inclined to accept central direction. This was most definitely inherent in Tynwald's Education Act of 1921.

This Act, as the Manx equivalent of the English 1918 Act, imitated much of what the mainland had generated in new state enterprise, centralization and secondary expansion. In effect, it lifted Manx education out of the realm of parish prejudice into the realm of national responsibility. Schemes which had been impossible for the little local Boards to carry out were henceforth possible with the transfer of power to a central authority. A dated and questionable system of operation thus passed into Manx history.

Heeding at last the urgings of the MacDonnell Committee Report of 1912, a Central Education Authority was to form the heart of the "new look" system. This Authority comprised 29 members, 25 of whom were to be elected and 4 co-opted (these were to be preferably female, in order to make up the feminine element to not less than four). Members were to come from eleven electoral districts, with Douglas having the lion's share of eight members.[17] Directors of education, inspectors, clerks, treasurers and teaching personnel were all now to be appointed and paid by the Authority. The old School Boards and Higher Education Boards all yielded their powers and duties to this new body -- although not without a certain amount of opposition from pro-Board supporters in Tynwald and parish, which was perhaps to be expected. The Council of Education was to remain intact as the watchdog of the Authority; as S. Wadsworth, chairman of the 1961 Commission on the Administration of Education in the Isle of Man stated:

> in 1920, when Tynwald decided to follow England in educational developments, it set up a new Central Authority to plan those developments for the whole Island and for both primary and secondary education. This new Authority was to be specifically elected to deal with education alone. This was a courageous act of faith, and wisely Tynwald retained the old Council ... as a superior body to provide checks and spurs which might be needed and to speak for the new Authority in Tynwald.18

Higher education was to be given a new priority, in keeping with the English regulations: new centres and schools were to be established, as were scholarships, and the travelling expenses of students were to be underwritten by the Authority. New powers were given in order to promote school camps, playgrounds, swimming baths, libraries, vacation schools and the like. Medical and dental inspections were to be an established part of school life and assistance was to be given to youngsters in finding apprenticeships and employment upon leaving school. Additionally, nursery schools were to be provided for children between the ages of two and five years.[19] All fees in public elementary schools were abolished -- something which the voluntary schools had previously ignored -- and all secular instruction in both public and voluntary schools came under the control of the Authority. Managers were appointed by the Authority for inclusion in voluntary school governance, and these "non-provided" schools were allowed to continue their religious instruction as per their original trust deeds. But the whole question of religious education was brought into new light with the establishment of a Religious Instruction Advisory Committee. This consisted of eighteen representatives chosen to advise the Authority on the religious syllabus in elementary and secondary schools.[20] It was innovative as far as religion was concerned in the British Isles, although it was not representative of all religious groups: it was charged with overseeing the reading of the Bible in the manner of the by-now familiar "Cowper-Temple" religion, devoid of religious formulary and catechism.

This Committee was not conceived without something of a fight in Tynwald, where the question of religious instruction ~~re~~ the syllabus for Manx state schools was hotly debated. Typical of those who questioned the inclusion of religious instruction at all was the following M.H.K., Mr. Shimmin, who made his point adroitly:

> Religious instruction in the day schools is a very delicate matter. A man's religion is a thing that is very sacred to him, and to have teachers who may have no definite religious opinions instructing the children in religion is a very questionable policy. To my mind, the Sunday School is the place to teach children religion, not the day school.[21]

A like-minded member of the Keys, J.D. Qualtrough, agreed with this sentiment, voicing the opinion of Methodists on the island when he said that only parents were fitted to teach their children Christianity, commenting: "I wish they would leave people's children alone."[22]

The opposite in thinking, however, held sway, partially as a result of pleas made after the disclosure of crime statistics on the island, which had increased by 34 percent since the beginning of 1914 and 50 percent in the case of petty theft, resulting in some "shocking cases" being brought before the insular courts. A decline in family life in 1920 was noted by the Bishop, James Denton-Thompson: family unity, parental training and guidance had declined, and child insubordination and independence had increased; the Sunday schools were empty because of "rival attractions" and Christianity was in retreat. Religion, it was felt, was in dire need of being re-established with the rising generation in Man and the 1872 Act's religious clause needed to be reaffirmed.[23] The Bishop was perhaps correct in his assumption of the rising generation being less religious than the former; the Rev. J.H. Cain lamented-with some exaggeration-that the Manx churches were empty, as were the Sunday schools (which the Bishop had vowed would be remodelled in order to "modernise" them, to increase and extend their efficiency.[24]), declaring that if the children were not taught religion in school, then he did not know how they were going to be taught at all.[25] Such was the admission of failure from at least one churchman. Growing secularism was a problem in that a generation of heathens could well be said to be at hand. The answer was Cowper-Temple religion, however neutral and Godless it may once have been considered.

It was therefore this mood of the "re-affirmation of religion" which prompted Bishop Denton-Thompson to bring about temperance teaching in the Manx schools -- an important aspect of religion which was thought necessary to devolve upon the classroom. As president of the Manx Temperance Federation, he felt that such teaching, conducted on a regular basis around the island's schools, would produce -- in conjunction with religious teaching and the re-vamped Sunday schools -- a counterweight to the "rival attractions" appearing in Manx life:

> I am no alarmist, and yet I am alarmed at the conditions which are prevailing in respect to the rising generation. I am no pessimist, but I refuse to live in a fool's paradise.[26]

Alarmist or no, the Bishop succeeded in swaying Tynwald to adopt temperance teaching as part of the re-modelled religiosity in Manx schools. The "great matters of Christian truth" were to be taught daily to all Manx children with renewed vigour, along with the temperance module, which was to be less frequent, but "at least once a quarter, on the lines of the syllabus issued by the Board of Education."[27] Although this latter component was part of the English program of instructional morality (and was prescribed by the English Board of Education), its adoption in Man -- the drinker's haven, especially during the May - September tourist season -- was lacking until the Bishop proposed its inclusion in the Bill. Morality and religion were very much to the fore in the eyes of Manx educational leaders.

Two other events occurred during the 1920-21 Education Bill era which were indicative of future trends in Man. The first was the continued struggle of the Keys with Westminster; the second was the Manx teachers" move towards greater identity with their English counterparts concerning pay and professionalism. Both events exhibited the peculiar contenance of Manx and thinking with regard to the mainland, a schizophrenic state which sought closer ties with the metropolis at the same time as it desired freedom from the dominant power's grasp. The Manx Janus politically could not forget its distant independent past, while the English-trained teachers wished for nothing less than complete union with the mainland. One face thus looked away from quasi-dependence on the metropole and hoped for independence, possibly after the fashion of the Irish Dail, while the cther face sought an even closer English embrace. Parallels might well be drawn between Ireland and Man at this time, but while Irish cousins of the Manx had resorted to violence in order to settle the long-smouldering question of independence, the Manx chose the "English disease" -- the strike.

Strikes: Keys and Teachers, 1920

The House of Keys, dissatisfied with their progress concerning the control of financial matters from their strike in 1911, pursued a similar course of action in January, 1920. This followed a high-handed Whitehall action in the salary increases of Manx Government officials enacted without any reference to the Keys whatsoever. Consequently, the Keys declined to attend Tynwald and repeated their by-now familiar demands to the Home Office. The Home Office commented privately:

> It is unfortunate that Lord Raglan did not exercise a little statemanship and avoid trouble by taking Tynwald into his confidence ... -- doing so would not have prejudiced the position of the Governor or the Imperial Government.28

After a five-man deputation from the Keys to London had been received, the Keys accepted a proposal from the new Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Fry, the Treasury and the Home Office. The whole Manx budget was to be brought for private scrutiny by both houses, with a standing committee in the Keys acting for the Manx people. Differences as to the allocation of surplus revenue (including that provided for education) were to be referred to the Imperial Government.

The Lieutenant-Governor, as the chief Imperial agent on the island, was now obliged to consult with the elected members of the legislature, and this was an assertion, in part, of Manx rights over Manx revenues.[29] The Imperial reigns were being loosened somewhat and this was to be of importance for Manx education in the future, since the Manx L.E.A. (as it had in essence now become) chose to deviate from the path or orthodoxy over the ensuing thirty years, yet still did not fall from grace with Whitehall.

Manx teachers, by contrast with the Keys, sought greater consolidation with the English state. The acute cost of living rise, occasioned by the war, hit English and Manx teachers severely. All local authorities tried to deal with the situation by granting many teachers was bonsuses, as partial relief from economic hardship, which sadly, had become the lot of many teachers, salaries having been arbitrarily fixed by L.E.A.'s. The English Board of Education gave a supplementary grant of £30,000 in 1917, but this was a temporary expedient. Lord Burnham's Committee, established in 1919, worked with the L.E.A.'s and the National Union of Teachers on the mainland to bring about a revised scale of pay increasing salaries from averages of £130 (male) and £96 (female) to £310 and £254 respectively by 1923.[30] Manx teachers, however, were not included in this settlement, and, as a consequence, requested parity of pay with English teachers. The Manx Council of Education responded with war bonuses in March, 1920: £5,500 and £3,300 for elementary teachers and £300 to supplementary teachers -- but this was merely a temporary measure.[31] Manx teachers were not satisfied.

The Isle of Man branch of the N.U.T. accordingly decided to take strike action for Burnham Scale parity in the same month as the war bonus award came to light, the strike lasting until November, 1920. Of the twenty-one Boards (which were in the process of being abolished by the Central Authority, under the terms of the 1921 Act) only two-- Douglas and Onchan -- complied with pay requests; the others gave a variety of reasons for refusal (including the view that such claims were unreasonable since Boards were moribund bodies, and that there was no money anyway to meet the demands[32]).

A conference of School Boards finally resolved the issue, in conjunction with a House of Keys committee specifically struck to investigate the "forgotten element" in Manx education -- the teachers. R.B. Moore, M.H.K., championed them with the following manner of rhetoric:

> We want to see that the children of the Isle of Man secure the best education we can give them. It is not a question of giving an adequate salary to the teachers; it is, rather, a question of giving generously. I would give all that I can to secure that the teachers have that increased power and status: that they should be able to confer on the children the very best education that the Isle of Man can afford.33

In November, 1920, Tynwald agreed to the following resolution:

> that the Treasurer of the Isle of Man be authorised to apply from the general revenue of the Island a sum not exceeding £4,500 for the purpose of paying to each teacher in the elementary schools of the Island, for the period July 1st 1920 to March 31st 1921 such sums as those to which they would have been entitled were the provisional minimum scale, as set out in the Burnham scale, now in force.34

Thus, the 199 fully-qualified Manx teachers and twelve pupil/student teachers became embraced by the English system of remuneration, pensions included. The Manx educator, trained in England and espousing metropolitan values, controlled by an English code of standards and goals, now achieved equality with his mainland colleagues in terms of the Burnham Scale. The voted sum was in part due to the newly-arranged position of the Keys re finance and in part to the sympathy of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir William Fry, who wished to see greater bonds of unity forged between Man and England. He was also intent upon making the role of the chief agent of the British Government more acceptable to the people.

The Geddes Committee was to recommend cut-backs in pay the following year and Manx teachers acquiesced in the demands of the "Geddes Axe," but a principle had been established: that of recognition by Tynwald (and hence the Council of Education and the Central Authority) that Manx teachers, regardless of the cost of living on the island, deserved to be regarded in no different light from mainland educators. They also expected Tynwald to vote money from insular revenues to the tune of whatever the Central Authority requested, since this agency was, to all intents and pruposes, the sole requisitioning body for Manx education and, as such, had their economic fortunes tied up with its own. What the Central Authority requested of Tynwald, Tynwald was -- within reason -- obliged to pay. Such was the accord reached. Militancy had achieved positive results for a section of Manx society by identification with a parallel mainland group. It was not the first time that such interlocking had taken place with regard to educational machinations, nor was it to be the last, and to underscore this, developments in secondary education were afoot on the mainland. A new phenomenon arose with the clamour for secondary education for all; it was to shape Manx education and society in a way which even Whitehall could not envisage. The Hadow era was at hand.

The "Hadow Effect" upon the Isle of Man, 1922 - 1939

The re-vamping of the Manx school system with the introduction of the 1921 legislation did not bring immediate satisfaction to all in the redressing of old grievances. Disparity of opportunity for secondary education was still present, despite the fact that such education was still receiving almost the same amount of government grant-money as elementary education -- £4,3000 and £5,854 respectively in 1921.[35] The lack of a secondary school in the west of the island produced something of an anti-Central Authority backlash in Tynwald, which voiced itself in attacks upon centralization by M.H.K.'s Edward Callister and R.S. Corlett. Douglas, Corlett felt, received the benefit of the new arrangements, while the rest of the island was forgotten. The new Authority was costing more and demanding sums which had never been the case with the old multiplicity of Boards: a new Director of Education (F. Grundey, 1924-35) cost more than all the previous parish clerks and officials together, and had been instrumental in bringing the Burnham Scale to Man, "forgetting that in the Isle of Man, teachers could live for far less money than ... in England."[36] Corlett called the 1921 Education Act the "most miserable, rotten specimen of education ever passed," since Tynwald was now without any measure of control over Manx education, the Central Authority having assumed complete control. He decried the whole system as being over-centralized upon Douglas and negligent of obligations to the rest of the island.[37] In part, he was correct. Secondary education only thrived properly in Douglas and the subsequent inter-island jealousies were to play an important part in the shaping of a new style of secondary schooling in the 'thirties and 'forties.

Events on the mainland, meanwhile, seemed to vindicate the pleas of Callister and Corlett: "secondary education for all" was to be the rallying cry for all those interested in seeing the working class given some measure of post-elementary education. It was taken from R.H. Tawney's document of Labour Party intent, 1922, and it spurred action,[38] the repercussions of which were to be felt in Man.

It was Tawney's and the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education's aim to inquire into a new direction for secondary education. Tawney primed the Committee with the following rationale which became tantamount to a secular formulary for the Labour Party well into the 'fifties:

> The Labour Party is convinced that the only policy which is at once educationally sound and suited to a democratic community is one under which primary education and secondary education are organized as two stages in a single continuous process; secondary education being the education of the adolescent and primary education being education preparatory thereto. Its objective, therefore, is both the improvement of primary education and the development of public secondary education to such a point that all normal children, irrespective of the income, class or occupation of their parents, may be transferred at the age of "eleven plus" from the primary or preparatory school to one type or another of secondary school, and remain in the latter till sixteen.[39]

The subsequent report of the Committee (chaired by Sir Henry Hadow), issued in 1926, is perhaps one of the more important documents in British education, since it was seminal in determining the lives of millions of children through "Hadow" reorganization. It marked the climax of opinion which sought to raise the education of older elementary children to "secondary" status, the break between the two stages of schooling coming at the age of eleven-plus. After this age, the child would be placed in a "modern" school or a grammar school, according to ability. Both types of school were to have similar curricula, the moderns being simpler and more limited in scope -- i.e., more practically-oriented. Transfer from one type to another was to be possible, theoretically, but all was dependent upon examination. The age of eleven thus came to be of crucial significance in the progression of a child's schooling. As the Hadow

Report's introduction states:

> We are disposed to believe that we may safely recommend the institution of an entrance examination, on the lines of the present examination, to determine the conditions of entry into selected modern schools 40

There was indeed to be a "new tide rising in the veins at the age of eleven or twelve" -- the sifting of human material for allotment into a two-track, basically class-oriented system, a system that had been operating since the introduction of the 1907 "free place system" and which had caused tests in English, arithmetic and intelligence to be developed by the Board of Education in Whitehall.

According to Brian Simon, the number of places for state-sponsorship in grammar schools had increased between 1920 and 1932 to around 48 percent of the total;[41] and the practise of streaming was to become an integral part of the new education model. Its basic ideology harked back to Plato, and was in fact not progressive in essence, but rather essentialistic; the idea of educating the whole child on a completely egalitarian basis was anathema to this mode of thinking, and, as a consequence, it was a truncated -- if not ignored -- part of British educational philosophy. Secondary education in particular adhered to the notion of streaming: education beyond the age of eleven was conceived of as being something akin to a race, where, in mass-competition with the rest of the age cohort, each child was subjected to an intellectual assessment whereby only the mentally fit would truly "progress." These fortunate few would then move into the upper track, where they would master academic knowledge and skills at a faster pace than those labelled intellectually inferior and "slower" by way of the "natural selection" at eleven.

The Board of Education accepted the Hadow proposals and began to implement them. Child psychology was creating a new world for the British child to endure; testing, competition and streaming were all indispensable elements within it, and, strange as it may seen, this was far from what the supposed language of the Hadow Report purported to represent: progressive or "new" education.

Naturally, the Hadow era, which was to underscore educational stratification in England, also had its effect in Man. Although the Manx had never been particularly enthralled with secondary education for the working class before the war, the position became reversed after 1920. Further education, it was realized, was the key to a better future. The belief that the war had been won by men with grammar school backgrounds meant that more Manx families were desirous of their children attending some form of secondary schooling, if possible.[42] "Scholarships and free places, those "slender bridges" thrown between the elementary system for the majority and secondary schools for the few," as Brian has Simon termed the trickling-ladder process,[43] were indeed in place in Man, but were not adequate for the demands of "secondary education for all," as M.H.K.'s Callister and Corlette protested in 1922.

By 1924, the protests concerning the lack of secondary schools on the island had become persistent. Jealousies surfaced yet again, this time with the rest of the island against the Douglas area -- the area most traditionally pro-English in its stance and most ready to accept English innovations and accompanying ideology. These jealousies were not entirely unfounded in that the system did militate against out-of-Douglas children benefiting from receipt of any scholarship for secondary education. Any child receiving secondary education, and who lived in the south of the island, had to rise at 5:30 A.M. and prepare to walk to the Port Erin station in time to catch the 7:15 A.M. train to Douglas.

The train took one hour to travel to Douglas, its rolling stock being unheated, compartmentalized Victorian carriages, antiquated by the latter part of the nineteenth century's standards, let alone the 'twentieth's. A further twenty minute walk then took the children to the gates of the school in Douglas. All told, some fourteen hours per day were spent travelling to and from and attending school. Homework had to be done when time permitted, and was almost impossible to accomplish on the train, where horse-play, bullying and the elements ensured mayhem, no matter what the season. The health of the children engaged in such lengthy days was far from good, as the School Medical Officer, Dr. Sontar, noted.[44] "How much longer are the children of the South of the Island to suffer ... for their education -- especially during the winter months?" demanded a concerned parent, who viewed such hardships as being "extraordinary."[45]

It did not help matters either, when the rest of the island learned that there would be a new secondary school erected on the island -- but in Douglas, with a special education vote of £53,410 and for boys only.[46] Douglas, it seemed, was to be the town chosen by the new Education Authority for all manner of secondary expansion, to the exclusion of all other towns and areas. (The Central Authority now became known as the Isle of Man Education Authority by the 1924 Act; it assumed all the powers of the Central Authority of 1921 and was of identical constitution[47])

The push for further establishment of secondary institutions began to take on an air of urgency after this time, despite the generally worsening economic conditions as the 1930's approached. Any candidate vying for a seat on the Isle of Man Education Authority had to affirm his intent to push for more grammar schools around the island, or he simply did not receive any votes. The Manx were fully appraised of what was happening in England, where the free place system was, by economic necessity, undergoing a change to one of "special place." Here, children competed for a place in the secondary school at the age of eleven plus, as in the past, but the selection then proceeded to a second stage: the income of the parents was taken into consideration, and only those whose income was below a certain amount per annun could obtain a free place for their child. All other children who were eligible for a place were obliged to have their parents pay fees on a sliding scale.[48] Thus, a "means test" was applied to all successful candidates and direction was given according to the results. Such was the resolve of the crisis-oriented National Government under the leadership of Ramsey MacDonald, 1931-35. But the Manx made no similar adjustments in their scholarship system, even when teachers' salaries were reduced to help with the general economic adjustments.

With this new twist to the grammar school picture, it became obvious that none but the brightest of the poor stood a chance of climbing the ladder, (employment was reaching its height at the time of the introduction of the "special place system" some three million people being unemployed in Britain) and money for education was difficult to find for many families, where the fees were nine to fifteen guineas a year, and the average worker's wage was approximately £3 0 0 a week. R.H. Tawney stated, perhaps sarcastically, that the "methods of the Poor Law" were being applied to what the Government apparently regarded as "an analagous service," where the younger members of a family had the "bad taste to ask their fellow-countrymen for the opportunity to be educated".[49]

But the Manx were subject to the same economic forces as anywhere else and the island's economic conition was as dismal as that of the mainland. However, the Authority -- to its credit -- pushed forward with further secondary educational projects. A secondary school for girls at Douglas was taking shape, as the boys began to move into new premises in 1930. There was therefore provision made by the Manx L.E.A. for high schools in Douglas which began to satisfy the demand by the Eastern Area population. The girls' school accommodated approximately 320 places and drew 42 percent of its students from the Douglas area, with the remaining 58 percent coming from the rest of the island. The boys' school accommodated 400 students, with roughly fifty percent being drawn from the Douglas area. Both schools were fully maintained by the L.E.A. Meanwhile, the old Ramsey Grammar School (co-educational and housing some 200 students) was being expanded to meet the demands of the north of the island: Tynwald voted £26,500 for extensions and up-grading in 1930, while the public Buchan School for Girls in Castletown was brought under the Regulations for Secondary Schools in 1929, guaranteeing 10 percent of the one hundred and fifty places as being free to those able to pass the entry examination at the age of eleven plus. No means tests were applied.[50]

The island's major public school, King William's College, still catered principally to youths from outside the island, the total number of students being in the region of three hundred. No state grants were in operation here and the institution retained its full, minor public school status, being classed as "completely independent" of state aid. Many youths from the island's middle class continued to attend, the institution providing the elitism which no island grammar school could give. For many, it was a symbol of the unattainable in educational status, no matter how brilliant the Manx child of humble parentage at the age of eleven; but this was to change before too long.

In keeping with the feeling in Man that "a large proportion of the population must ever seek its fortunes abroad," a generous scheme of public education was felt to be the best way for ensuring success. Manx parents, determined the Council, should not consider it necessary to send their children to English schools, since the island made complete and satisfactory provision for all demands.[51] The total number of secondary places thus administered by the Manx L.E.A. was in the region 935, the remainder of the 1,370 places from the five schools mentioned being taken up by fee-payers form the island, the mainland or the Empire. Private schooling was obviously in demand with a certain socio-economic group, despite the tenor of the economic times.

Private schools on the island at this time (apart from the Buchan School and King William's College) numbered twelve. Grouped into kindergarten, junior preparatory and senior preparatory schools, they catered to approximately four hundred students, the average number per school being thirty-three. However, English inspection found these schools to be wanting in a number of areas, from the standard of teaching and material provision, to discipline and subject-competence. In comparison with the state schools, it was felt, the "standards of attainment of the children is almost always lower than it ought to be, that is, lower than is now usually found."[52] Many of the students passed on to secondary schools in Man or England once they had reached fourteen years of age, entering fee-paying establishments which fed the mainland universities, despite the dire warning of the Council that:

> the standards of sound secondary school work are not even approached. There must always be some special and peculiar reason to justify the parent in keeping his child at a private school after the age of thirteen.[53]

Those able to afford private schooling assured their children of avoidance of the highly selective process at the age of eleven. They also avoided the tension, the trauma and the possible stigma of "failure" being attached to their children after this age. Those able to avoid private schools fees on the island were no doubt aware that such schools were often remiss in certain areas, but were willing to turn a blind eye simply because entrance to a secondary school -- with fees -- was more acceptable via this route.

The Manx L.E.A. was certainly alive to the fact that the demand for more secondary places was coming from an increasingly lower echelon of the socio-economic ladder and it did its best to accommodate a larger number of deserving students by its building program at the onset of the 'thirties. Unfortunately, H.M. Inspectors were not particularly pleased with the efforts of the Manx as regards the Hadow reorganization, where progressive educational thought, in espousing the "new education," re-structured methods of pedagogy. John Dewey's ideas on the promotion of individuality through "learning by doing" or the "play way," and the concept of treating children as children and not future adults, were not making much headway in Man. The concept of growth as an end in itself -- a Deweyite notion, echoed by more educators of the ilk of Percy Nunn and Maria Montessori in the 1920's -- was having a hard time settling itself upon Manx educators. If the language of the Hadow Report was couched within the ideology of this new educational force, the Manx found it less acceptable than most. This, at least, was the opinion of the English inspectorate, which felt that the island's "isolation" militated against the acceptance of the new outlook and methods precipitated by the Hadow Report.[54]

The H.M.I.'s therefore made some suggestions to the Council of Education for Manx remediation in the areas where island practises were deemed to be significantly trailing those of the mainland. It was suggested that the Council should arrange a special course for its teachers on the mainland, whereby the Manx could visit the Hadow-orientated schools, understand the principles of what was taking place and then return to the island to apply similar techniques in their own classrooms. Needless to say, not every mainland L.E.A. was gearing itself to reorganization and Man was not alone as regards heeding the Whitehall call: urban authorities were generally more swift to adapt to the elementary/ secondary staging recommended by Hadow, while the rural areas -- including Man -- felt little urgency, so that even by 1939, only two-thirds of all English elementary schools had implemented Hadow.[55] But the problem of reorganization was more difficult in Man than elsewhere -- not because of the isolation of the country, as the H.M.I.'s supposed, from metropolitan ideas, but rather because of the generally scattered nature of the population. This fact was indeed recognized by the Council in 1932,[56] and it also noted that, in order to continue its work in reorganization -- which it felt it had started by the building program in Douglas and Ramsey with the secondary schools there, in addition to starts in Laxey and Rushen -- it needed more money, which it did not possess. As it rightly saw matters, "the financial crisis now affecting the world has made impracticable, for the present ... any new scheme which involves considerable expenditure."[57]

Financial stringency put a damper on Manx reorganization and rendered the raising of the school leaving age to fifteen as being out of the question -- as it certainly was in England and Wales. Indeed, the problem of children leaving school at the age of fourteen with little or no prospect of work was worrisome to the Manx L.E.A. since so many idled away the days at street corners in Douglas, deteriorating physically or mentally. That such children would have been better off in school was not doubted, but the finances were not available for the wholesale rescue of these youngsters. However, until the onset of war in 1939, unemployed youths were to be the focus of the L.E.A. for the provision of a special type of education -- the Unemployed Youths Classes. These classes were started in October, 1933 and proved to be of great help to many who felt themselves to be useless. Like it or not, the Authority was becoming increasingly drawn into the provision of further education for youngsters between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Future decisions on secondary education in the island were accordingly affected by these facts as the 'thirties moved into the 'forties.

But what was seen as reluctance on the part of the Manx to advance with the Hadow concepts prompted a full-scale inquiry into the state of Manx education -- a move which was not lost upon the Authority, especially the Director of Education, F.R. Grundey.

The Phipps Report, May 1933

The Isle of Man Education Report of May, 1933, was in many ways yet another condemnation of the lagging nature of Manx education in relationship to the mainland. The H.M.I.'s had prompted Whitehall to endorse the inquiry by way of their concerns about Manx geographical and ideological isolation. Consequently, Sir Edmund Phipps (chairman) in concert with seven Manxmen,[58] investigated the whole field of education and educational policy in the Isle of Man. They heard evidence for seven days from some twenty-seven witnesses in the upper echelons of educational administration and used English standards of practice and competency as the benchmarks by which to measure Manx progress. Two considerations were kept in mind by the Commission during its deliberations: the geographical position of the island and lack of industry. The former was considered a hindrance to higher education and technical instruction, while the later compelled the island's youth to "go elsewhere" for a living.[59] It was therefore the recommendation of the Committee that Manx education should prepare children for a life on the island and for occupations on the mainland or in the Empire. In addition, the educational staff on the island were to be kept informed of the "best thought and done" outside the island. The Isle of Man, it was conceded, did offer one advantage educationally: the opportunity for greater freedom and experimentation -- something which was to prove true for the future. The Manx would help alter, within two decades, the English educational paradigm in the name of "freedom" and "experimentation".

With regard to Manx teachers, the Committee discovered that only 103 out of 204 qualified men and women (29 men and 74 women) had served in mainland schools at some time during their careers. An overwhelming 169 (37 men and 132 women) had received their early education in Man, as against only 35 (19 men and 16 women) on the mainland. The ethnocentrism and narrowness of thought associated with indigenous pedagogues practising without reference to English or non-Manx experience were real fears for the Committee, and once again prompted the recommendation that Manx teachers were to become more involved with the mainland by way of visitation, courses, observations, etc. More male, English teachers were urged to be recruited by the Authority, so that "isolation" would be negated by the influx of Hadow-oriented blood and the imbalance of too few men in the system would be ended.[60] The fifty untrained teachers found practising in the schools were also urged to attend training college in England, to complete their professional qualifications, and to return to the island imbued with the new metropolitan ideas.

As to secondary education, the Report noted that the three major grammar schools on the island were charging eight shillings per year fees for each pupil (there were 837 such pupils in the state schools), while

King William's College was seeing an increasing number of Manx boys being admitted -- 70 out of 183 during the previous four years -- a trend which pleased the chairman, since an English public school education was being imparted to island youths who would doubtless find their way to positions of influence in Manx society and thereby exercise metropolitan attitudes upon their fellow Manxmen. The College fees, however, were such as to discourage all but the moderately wealthy from sending their sons.[61]

Demands for classes in continuing education were more than could be met and more classes were recommended. The observation that the "absence of industries from the island deprives the schools, day and evening, of some obvious incentives to voluntary effort by the boys," was not without foundation: the will to achieve could be easily sapped by the reality of little employment opportunity after leaving school, as the Authority was finding out. Similarly, the absence of Manx state scholarships for those entering university was seen as a serious hindrance for the encouragement of Higher Certificate scholars -- and from poor homes especially.

But praise came in the adoption by Man of "one of the best features of the English system" -- the Directorship of Education, a position considered "indispensible" to administration. This, in conjunction with inspection by English officials annually, was considered to be "administratively good." However, the Council of Education and the Education Authority were found wanting: an Education Council of five Tynwald members, four specially elected (from the High Bailiff's districts) and six generally elected members, was proposed, thereby giving more control to Tynwald, which had lost its power over educational direction under the terms of the 1921 Act.[62] These fifteen would then act as a better counter-balance to the Education Authority's power, especially in Tynwald.

As a document designed to cause thought for the future, the Report was successful. School building was subsequently commenced at the elementary and secondary levels during the 1936-39 period, a large secondary school at Douglas (Ballakermeen) being designed for approximately four to five hundred pupils, with sixth form entry. Meanwhile, the new Ramsey Grammar School came on stream in 1935, a complex designed for five hundred pupils; it actually serviced only two hundred but was nonetheless a much-needed addition to northern secondary school needs. In conjunction with these measures, the school leaving age was raised to fifteen in 1938 (but was not enforced at this time) in line with the recommendation, in February, 1936, that Hadow lines be followed. Free place arrangements were investigated for the Authority's secondary schools, university scholarships were authorized for Manx males at Manchester University and evening institutes were enlarged in Douglas and Ramsey, catering for five hundred students. Also, greater contact with the mainland was scheduled, with a number of Manx teachers taking courses at Oxford, Cambridge and Leeds Universities.[63]

The Hadow reorganization was undertaken with the constant reminder that the future of young Manx people depended more upon education than it did for their English and Welsh counterparts, and that the island had more to gain from reorganization that an "ordinary county area in England." Delaying Hadow reorganization, it was felt, would have an adverse effect upon the whole youth of Man.[64]

With such assurances and encouragements from the Whitehall officials and their Manx allies, Manx education was brought closer to the English model, administratively and doctrinally, than ever before. It was pushed in part, by the Manx people themselves, who demanded equality of educational opportunity with that they saw happening on the mainland. Certainly, the demand for secondary places had caused greater provision in Man and had assuaged many who were concerned about the entry of their children into a "secondary-schooled society." Yet, it was to have an unfortunate side effect which caused great anguish in such a closely-knit society: jealousy. Jealousy it was that led Douglas and Laxey parents to send their children to school in Ramsey, because the grammar school in that northern town could accommodate those not able to enter Douglas High Schools. (i.e., those who were judged to be weaker academically by the Douglas standards were accepted in Ramsey). For such parents, relocation to Ramsey was not out of the question. Feelings ran high and the question came to be asked: if reorganization was to take place, why not reorganize beyond Hadow? Why not do what the 1933 Commission had said was in Man's favour -- deviate and experiment? The question posed itself with increasing frequency as the 'thirties drew to a close. The answer, once again, was to originate in England.

Spens and Multilateralism: Deviation from Hadow at Hand

Sir Will Spens' Report of 1938 provided the Manx with part of the answer to their problems. Essentially, the Spens Report reiterated what Hadow had advised in secondary education -- the grammar, secondary modern and technical school were to be the three divisions of schooling after the selective examination at the age of eleven plus, with an ample number of grammar school places for those who were desirous of such education for their children. However, one aspect of the Spens Report -- that which the Committee rejected as unsuitable for English needs -- proved to be of interest to the Manx. This was the multilateral idea. As Spens stated:

> The characteristics of this type of school are the provision of a good general education for two or three years for all pupils over 11+ in a given area, and the organization of four or five 'streams' so that pupils at the age of 13 or 14 years may follow courses that are suited to their individual needs or capacity. There would be a

> common core in these several courses, but they would differ in time and emphasis given to a certain group of subjects.65

This rejected idea had the essence of a fairer system about it. As Spens further stated, undoubtedly envisioning a nationwide educational program of equitable proportions than had hitherto been countenanced: "The multilateral idea, though it may not be expressed by means of the multilateral school, should, in effect, permeate the system of secondary education as we conceive."[65]

It was indeed a notable, if not radical suggestion, too radical, perhaps, for the times. After all, each child was to be treated -- and given commensurate educational opportunities -- as the equal of every other child. There was to be no class distinction in the provision of education. Social background had little or no bearing on the manner of selection at eleven (since bifurcation of cohorts would not be enacted as in the past) and only academic abilities and aptitudes, shorn of class moulding, were to be the determinant after all had moved, as a unified cohort, into the multilateral school. Here, courses designed to cater for individual needs would come into play; there would be distinctions, obviously, but not tracking of the old kind.

Here was the promise of schooling which did not condemn any child to a certain type of educational environment without qualms. Here was schooling which reflected more of the ideology of North American practice, with a greater egalitarian philosophy of social cohesion beyond the educational stage, evidenced in every citizen's life, underlying the concept. But rejection on the mainland did not automatically mean rejection elsewhere.

Still further, the establishment of parity between all types of secondary schools was seen by Spens and his Committee as a "fundamental requirement" for the nation. Perhaps, thought a number of Manxmen, this would be the way to end the jealousy and hard feelings over the disparity of opportunity and placement. Indeed, the egalitarian image which multilateralism projected appealed to those interested in promoting harmony in the island community. Hadow, if taken to its fullest extent, provided an addled future for secondary education: it expressed fears that a secondary modern school might be construed as being inferior to the grammar school, yet at the same time it took steps to ensure that it would be, by recommending a "diluted" curriculum. If the secondary modern's academic fare was to be "simpler and more limited in scope," then it was obviously not the equal of any grammar school; it was to be a "poor relation" whose students terminated their education at the age of fifteen, while many of those at the grammar school might continue on to the age of eighteen. No, Hadow was incorrect: no egalitarian secondary education could be achieved by adherence to such confused tenets. Multilateralism, which envisaged the three types of school within the one, would obviate status, jealousy and class-overtones.

As war approached in 1939, Manx education was well along under the Hadow banner of reorganization, in obedience to the prevailing opinion and dictates of the mainland. The school leaving age had been raised to fifteen and new central schools had been built at Rushen and Laxey, while substantial additions were made to the Castletown school. The Ballakermeen estate in Douglas saw the completion of the two high schools, housing 347 boys and 342 girls respectively, while the Ramsey Grammar School catered to a lesser number of students (203) in the north. "Substantial" repairs and improvements (estimated at £8,000) were slated for the Clothworkers' School in Peel, in order to make it a suitable school for seniors in the west of the island. And as a cap to the total scheme, Tynwald passed a resolution in March, 1937, endorsing the reorganization and voting some £80,000 as a special contribution towards the capital costs of the project, with the recognition that the reorganization was making a notable advance in the educational provision for Manx children. The youth of Man would thereby have a better opportunity of "holding their own in the difficult conditions of the modern world."[67] All told, some 892 students were receiving secondary education in Douglas and Ramsey (1937-38) while King William's College and Buchan School added another 260, making for a total of 1,069 Manx students receiving such education immediately prior to the war. Interestingly, Manx students in the two public schools were now considerable in proportion to "English" or non-Manx students: K.W.C. accommodated 194 boys, of whom 111 were Manx (57.2 percent), while all 66 students at the Buchan School were Manx.[68] Clearly, Manx families who could afford the fees and preferred to send their children to these establishments, rather than to regular grammar schools, did so.

Compared with comparable mainland schooling, insular costs were less per pupil in the Authority-maintained schools: £25 12 0 in Man as against £28 16 0 in England, for an average secondary school life of approximately 4 years 11 months -- exactly the same as in England. The total cost of education was now in the region of £113,115 per year, an indication that although insular costs were slightly less per capita than in England, the Hadow-inspired reorganization was considerable in its financial commitment. Annual education votes by Tynwald were significantly greater than those of the immediate pre-Hadow era, these being approximately half that of the 1939-40 total. Not all Manxmen, however, were happy with the developments. R.D. Farrant, M.H.K., a member of the 1933 Commission, was the spokesman of those who viewed the rising costs with great alarm. As early as 1933, Farrant sounded the alarm against institution-imitation by the better-off classes, and said that as long as the spirit of emulation (of the English system) was allowed to govern the expenditure of public money, the "fierce and well-directed campaign" would impose a staggering burden on the public purse.[69] Compared with past expenditures, this certainly seemed as if it might be the case.

Manx reorganization, at the behest of those who desired that Manx schooling align itself fully with English developments, meanwhile, was set for completion. The infant-elementary-secondary continuum was in place, as was the screening process for allocation to the secondary phase. Grammar school "place capturing" coloured the work of these first two phases and created tensions in students, teachers and parents. It was not wholesome, and it was not education designed to bring out the full potential of any child -- but it was process-oriented, it was effective and it was English. And this was what the "fierce and well-directed campaign" was designed to achieve.

By 1939, some eighteen children per thousand were receiving secondary education in the Isle of Man, in state or state-aided schools -- comparable to the best-provided areas in England. But Man lacked facilities for those desiring a technical form of education and it subsequently placed everyone in secondary schools of the central or grammar type with a correspondingly academic curriculum. Many were missing their proper allocation and the Manx L.E.A. was remiss in providing little for the needs on non-academic students. It had made the mistake of presuming that non-academic students were of little consequence in the island-wide quest for entry to a grammar school, and, since such children left school to enter trades-type jobs at the age of fourteen, thought that there was little point in making provision for technical education. Since the push for re-aligned education came mainly from the middle class, therefore, Manx secondary educational provision tended to be geared to what this influential group wanted, yet, at the same time, it did not want second-rate schooling -- as Hadow reorganization implied -- for those of the group who were not able to secure a grammar school place. Manx education apparently found itself reorganizing along lines which were not suited to its needs.

The defects of the imported system were producing strains within the island which had not been foreseen, and while England basically endorsed the Hadow mode of thought, ameliorated somewhat by the Spens advocacy of a tripartite secondary school arrangement, Man became increasingly ill at ease with the Hadow ideology. The English educational paradigm had its limits, as did carte blanche Manx acceptance of that paradigm without a pause which would permit adaptation to Manx needs. That pause came with the declaration of war upon Germany by Great Britain in September, 1939.

The Second World War, Tynwald and Plans for Reconstruction

Prosperity was beginning to build quite steadily in the Isle of Man when war came in 1939. The visitor trade had peaked in 1937, with almost 600,000 people arriving, and by 1939 had dipped slightly to 555, 646 -- still a considerable number, despite the approach of war. Tynwald, in 1938, had voted, of its own volition, the sum of £100,000 towards the cost of rearmament, which the Imperial Government was then facing. This was an indication of the greater harmony and mutual trust between the British and Manx Governments, although finances were still a bone of contention.

Over five thousand Manxmen served in the British Armed Forces during the course of hostilities. (12 percent of the Manx population being classified as "under arms," while only 8 percent of the mainland was so classified.[70]) Tynwald had problems with conscription, however when the Imperial

National Service Act of 1941 was urged to be extended -- at the behest of the Governor -- to the Isle of Man. The House of Keys quashed the resolution, forcing the Imperial Parliament to enact the Emergency Powers (Isle of Man) Defence Act in 1943, making the evasion of military service by the taking up of residency in the island (for those between the ages of 41 and 51) illegal.[71]

Negotiations continued throughout the war with regard to greater self-government for the Manx. A deputation from the Keys to the Home Office, in October, 1943, saw the Speaker of the Keys, R.B. Moore, state the problem of mainland control of Manx matters in the following way:

> In form, the Governor alone is responsible for policy and for government, for the initiation of legislation, the introduction of all financial proposals, both for the imposition of taxation and for the expenditure of revenue. Now that form of government has obviously one drawback. It means that the representatives of the people in the House of Keys become a permanent oppositions.72

Government, it was felt, should be by the Lieutenant-Governor with the **advice** of a Council drawn from and responsible to Tynwald.

The negotiations, however, did something: the Governor was empowered to establish a seven-member Executive Council comprising the chairmen of the major Boards, and, just after the war's end, the first Executive Council was brought into being, (April, 1946) hailed by R.H. Kinvig as "one of the greatest constitutional developments the Island had ever known,"[73] Substantial war loans of £1.75 million and £0.5 million (interest free) from Man to England may have softened the Home Office's traditional stance somewhat; at any rate, the war brought some bonuses on the political and economic fronts.

Educationally, the war bought time for soul-searching and a change of direction in Man. The outcome was that the English educational paradigm became altered in both ideology and practise, resulting in a different approach to education. In achieving this, the Manx were to prove themselves perhaps more astute than those on the mainland who looked disparagingly upon what Spens had recommended -- multilateral/comprehensive schooling.

By 1940, a number of areas of the island had been commandeered by the armed forces, including, incidentally, (and for the second time) the Manx passenger ships. The island was transformed into a military training centre, with holiday camps and boarding houses lodging relays of recruits. The Royal Air Force established training airfields at Jurby and Andreas in the north, while the Fleet Air Arm took over Ronaldsway airport, near Castletown. The Education Authority, at the request of the Imperial Government, yielded the Ballakermeen schools to the R.A.F. and the Royal Navy for the entire length of the war after 1940, and the students used the old buildings in Douglas (St. Ninian's for the boys and Park Road for the girls, both of which were retained later as part of the comprehensive system). All educational development in Man came to a halt, but planning, as in England, continued. Debates in Tynwald, as to the future of the island's youth after the war, led many to examine the Manx system of education as it had been shaped by strictures of the English model. Hope for the future, and a society based more upon equality than privilege, ran through much of the rhetoric in the legislature. Education was to be at the forefront of these hopes.

On the mainland, English educationists were critical of English education, the condition of which, after the evacuation of children from several cities, had been revealed as far from satisfactory. The plight of evacuated children from London, nutritionally and educationally, brought home the fact that the English model still favoured the minority and condemned the majority to bare literacy. Sir Richard Livingstone and Sir Fred Clarke both urged societal reform through education, stating that a renewed society could only come through greater equality and a reaffirmed Christianity.[74] The Board of Education's famous "Green Book" memorandum of 1941 canvassed opinions about educational reform from a multitude of sources. The response was overwhelming and the president of the Board, R.A. Butler, subsequently presented a White Paper entitled: Educational Reconstruction, which proposed the Government's reforms, based upon the felt needs of British society. This Paper, published in December, 1943, was of crucial importance in the shaping of an Education Bill the following year.[75] By August, 1944, the Bill had become law, with the Education Act, 1944, forming a basic part of societal renewal for the future. The full weight of public opinion was behind the Act; its effect upon Tynwald was nothing short of galvanizing.

In March, 1944, during the course of discussion on the estimates of the Council of Education, the English Bill's passage precipitated frank discussion on the Manx system's discriminatory base. The halting progress of insular secondary education and of the lack of aptitudinal levels of provision came under criticism, as did the complete lack of technical education, which the war had shown as being a main avenue of the future. A family's wealth as a criterion of educational progression was condemned, and hope was expressed for a Manx society of greater equality. Praise came only for the nature of Manx religious teaching by dint of the Agreed Syllabus of 1921 (the first L.E.A. in Britain to adopt such a measure) and for the building of the Ballakermeen and Ramsey schools, which, it was hoped, would be the focal points of a new educational equality. No-one would "look down" upon anyone else:

> Hitherto, secondary education has been the privilege of children of a scholastic type of mind, with a natural aptitude for book learning. In default of any alternative, bright children whose gifts did not lie in that direction were compelled to labour at subjects for which they had no natural inclination.[76]

With the Norwood Report (on secondary school curricula and examinations), the McNair Report (on the supply and training of teachers and youth leaders) and the Fleming Report (on public schools), the English 1944 Education Act represented the result of embattled democracy attempting more liberalized thinking. Central planning and direction had manifested themselves in what T.L. Jarman has termed the most comprehensive of any English education act; yet is was not entirely free from earlier thinking; stratification was built into it, and the Manx were wary of it accordingly. What, then, did it contain?

In essence, the Butler Act divided education into three major stages of primary, secondary and advanced schooling. It declared that all children should proceed to secondary education and the age of eleven and in practice, three types of secondary schools were established -- as recommended by Spens: grammar, technical and secondary modern, with compulsory, free schooling to the age of fifteen. A Ministry of Education superceded the Board, in the upper echelons of operation, while numerous smaller L.E.A.'s were amalgamated. All were required to provide education at the three stages, along with milk, meals and medical inspection. An agreed syllabus (Manx style) was incorporated, and voluntary schools became "aided," "special agreement" or "controlled" -- according to their financial status with the Government. The spirit of social welfare saw special schools for the physically handicapped established, as well as numerous ancillary services for all children.

Unfortunately, the concept of streaming was cemented with the tacit approval of an examination at the age of eleven plus, making for a bipartite system of education beyond this point, with only 20 percent of secondary-age children (mainly middle class) being admitted into a grammar school. The rest of the cohort (predominantly working class) were denied this opportunity.

The result of the intensive pressure for entry to the grammar school led to further streaming and segregation, with anxiety, jealousy and disappointment accruing on an increasing scale among children and parents of all ranks.[77] As W.K. Richmond observes:

> "Streaming from an early age became the rule, with admission to the "scholarship class as the all-or-nothing goal set for pupils who were left in no doubt that any form of study not connected with the examination was a waste of time."78

That most were doomed to disappointment at the age of eleven and were siphoned off into a lesser form of secondary education seemed to matter little, except that "secondary education for all" was in fact being accomplished. True, Hadow, Spens and Norwood in accordance with the educational psychology of the era, had essentially cast the die, envisaging three types of child with three corresponding tracks of schooling (although, the Butler Act in no way made direct reference to the three types, as H.C. Barnard notes;[79] nor did the Act state as to how selection for the schools should take place). But if, as T.L. Jarman suggests, the outstanding feature of the Act was the innovation of secondary education for all -- Tawney's claim fulfilled -- the manner of the "sifting of human resources" left much to be desired. It was, in essence, a continuation of the Hadow paradigm which had thrust itself upon two-thirds of the mainland's schools by 1944. It was therefore basically a system which endorsed the channelling of youngsters by dint of a single set of examinations at the termination of what Rousseau designated as being childhood. As such, it underscored segregated, class-based education and was at best an entrenchment of the ladder mentality of 1907. The Norwood and Spens alternatives were not acted upon,[80] and the 1944 Act consequently became the model of orthodoxy for the future, and for the most part, is still in force.

Thus, with full knowledge of what had been legislated in England and with first-hand knowledge of the psychological stress and dissension caused by the eleven plus process on the island, the Director of Education for the Isle of Man, H.L. Fletcher, (1935-58) launched himself into the controversy in March, 1945. What he proposed was to shape Manx education to the present day, and his ideas stemmed from those which the mainland had considered unsuitable for implementation in English society.

Comprehensive Schooling, 1945 - 1947

The major portion of the 1945 Council of Education Report to the Lieutenant-Governor and Tynwald devoted itself to the issue of the selection process prior to secondary school allocation. H.L. Fletcher drew attention to the reports of H.M. Inspectors who were on the island during October and November of 1944. These were the first inspectors to examine Manx schools since 1939, and their impressions formed the basis, paradoxically, of the condemnation of much of the English model in the Isle of Man, especially that of the primary stage.

The Manx had not really entered into the full spirit of experimentation in schemes and methods, the inspectors noted, and they regretted the halting of reorganization with the outbreak of war (which might have been completed by 1940 if plans had come to fruition.) Secondary modern education, it was hoped, would take place at Ballakermeen and Ramsey, upon the evacuation of H.M. Forces from the buildings, but this was contingent upon the Authority's espousal of the tenets of the Butler Act. Here the inspectors expressed grave doubts about the whole primary-secondary continuum in Man. Great dissatisfaction was rife throughout the island, they felt, the eye of discontent centring upon the selection procedure at the age of eleven.

Primary education, the inspectors stated, was "dominated" to an extraordinary extent by the scholarship examination. This was no great revelation, but they did acknowledge that it severely handicapped the process of education.[81] The scholarship examination was taken by all children in competition for special places at all grant-aided and maintained grammar schools on the island. Some 30 percent of the examination cohort "passed" these examinations -- a higher percentage on the average that in England. But the desire to succeed and move into the professions and technical or industrial fields away from the island had become almost a necessary fact of life, and even a 30 percent "pass" rate was inadequate to satisfy the demand for a grammar school education -- the key to a better future. Failure to be placed in a grammar school had a dimension to it which was not known on the mainland, however, and this exacerbated the problem to a degree which concerned the inspectors. The pattern of kinship on the island, they felt, was a factor which had to be taken into consideration:

> When so many people count cousinship and where so many know each other, it is not surprising that the results of the scholarship examination should have reverberations almost unheard of in larger and less closely-knit communities.82

The consequences of the scholarship pressure, concluded the inspectors, were "almost wholly evil from the educational point of view." Apart from the detrimental effect upon families, all children admitted to nursery schools were immediately taught letters and numbers, with purposeful play being cut to a minimum, since play was deemed "a waste of time."

At the junior stage, formal exercises "of the most depressing description" predominated, producing highly efficient mechanical mastery over technicalities. Oral and creative work were discouraged, since they were not things which could be tested in the examination. All was sacrificed in the name of the examination and consequently, creative thinking suffered. Sadly, the 70 percent doomed to failure no matter what they did were compelled to follow the same course of studies because of parental pressure. No course differentiation would be contemplated by parents of children in the "failure" category because such accommodation would jeopardize a chance of success, however marginal.[83] All skills that were not examinable -- from artistic and dramatic to mechanical and physical -- were abondoned. Tunnel vision prevailed in the quest for the coveted place in a Manx grammar school.

But what of the 70 percent who failed to win the prize? What did the inspectors foresee for them? "Attractive alternatives" might be given to this group it was thought, (after the Hadow mind-set), where practical and less academic courses of instruction would be more appropriate. The secondary modern could assume its rightful place in Man, as it was doing in England, and the parents of these "failures" would adjust their thinking accordingly. Similarly, Manx teachers, who were generally "backward" in their thinking because of their isolation from the mainstream of thought and practice, could, upon the war's end, resume the regular visitations which had been terminated in 1939. Such remediation all round would solve the educational woes of Manx society. Such was the conclusion of the English inspectorate after almost a five-year absence from the shores of Man.

It was indeed a most thought-provoking report. Primary education especially was singled out for scathing criticism -- but of course, the program and rationale for teaching methods at this stage were governed by the dictates of the eleven plus examination. However H.L. Fletcher was more than alive to the possible future of socio-educational conditions should such a system be allowed to continue, despite the assurances of the inspectors concerning secondary modern education. With this in mind, an experiment was carried out in March, 1945. Fifty eleven plus "failures" were given a second chance at the examination. The results were inconclusive, but there was enough evidence for many Tynwald members to condemn the "cram" for the examination and to label the whole exercise as faulty.[84]

There then followed a heated debate over Fletcher's exposition of the ill-effects of the system on the island's youth. Education, it was agreed, was one of things the Manx Government could most surely give Manx children before "sending them out into the world." There was reason enough for the present generation being "education enthusiasts," but things had transpired which should not have been, had Tynwald been a "wise authority" in guarding the best interests of the island's children.[85] Self-reproach abounded -- as did a call for the abolition of the Council of Education and the Education Authority, with their combined duties to be assumed by a Board of Tynwald -- but this was later quashed.[86] However, the whole concept of the eleven plus examination came under searing attack by members in the House of Keys, where one member especially, Mr. A. Moore, lambasted the ill-begotten process, its life-pattern determination at so young an age and the psychological stress on parents, children and friends. Such attacks did not lessen in frequency over the ensuing months, and suggestions for alternatives were never far from the lips of educators and legislators.

With the war's end, the island began to resume normal economic relationships with the mainland again. The visitors returned, as was hoped -- 167,089 in 1945 and 484,962 in the following year -- and things moved progressively from a wartime to a peacetime footing in all walks of life. The Manx also came to grips with the education question which had hung over the island since its official public hearing in March, 1945. Should the Manx follow England's lead and commit the island to more of the negative effects of the examination at the age of eleven? Or should the Authority seek a more viable alternative, not a direct importation from England? Should Man also imitate the English legislation of 1944, and embrace further English practices in a wholesale fashion? What exactly did the Isle of Man want in an education system? H.L. Fletcher supplied the answers in 1946, as part of the annual report to the Council of Education: the Isle of Man would opt for that which the Spens and Norwood Reports had either explored or recommended -- multilateral schooling.

In Fletcher's words, schools had to be found for children, and children for schools -- a situation in which Man had found itself during much of its past educational history. He stated something further which had become apparent to the English inspectors as outsiders, and had long been apparent to the Manx themselves, since the days, perhaps, of Bishop Barrow:

> We have in this Island a closely-knit community in which social conditions are in a great many respects entirely different from those in England. This Island prides itself on being a democratic community and I think, starting from that basis, we can come to a conclusion as to what is likely to be the best form of education to be pursued within this Island, having regard to our existing resources and projects in view.87

Fletcher accurately gauged that many Manx parents felt an acute loss of prestige if their children did not secure admission to a grammar school. Pride was at stake, as was the life and career of a child beyond the age of eleven, and, since the introduction of "100 percent special places" (advocated in the Phipps Report of 1933), more people in every stratum took an interest in the securing of a grammar school place, since 30 percent of each year's cohort had the chance for qualification. Unfortunately, the remaining 70 percent presented a problem. Where did they fit in, as regards the mode of thought in England? Was secondary modern schooling, with a diluted and simplified curriculum, an appropriate solution for the Isle of Man, given that society's needs? Fletcher concluded that it was not.

> It is my firm conviction, after giving a considerable amount of thought to the problem, that the solution lies in a form of multilateral school. By this I mean a school which has one Head, but within the walls of which school various courses are pursued. The school is non-selective and has a common entry.87

During the first two years, (11-13) aptitudes and abilities were to be carefully considered. The late-developing child could be more fairly dealt with, and, should mistakes in placement occur, transfer would be easily facilitated from one class to another. The Manx multilateral school would see pupils separated only for instruction; all other purposes would be common. Such an institution, reasoned Fletcher, would "contribute greatly to the creation of a system which is a social whole."[89]

Objections to the multilateral idea on the grounds of size (Spens thought that such schools would have to be quite large -- in the vicinity of 800 or larger) were dismissed. Manx school sizes quite simply would not be so great. In Douglas, the Douglas High School for Boys and the boys' section of Ballakermeen would function under the one headmaster, the schools bearing a common name. The High School for Girls would operate in precisely the same fashion as the High School for Boys.

Ramsey's Senior School and Grammar School were to be joined under one headship, a solution which was particularly welcome to the town, since the Grammar School had been accepting 40 percent of eligible pupils on special place scholarships -- a high percentage, which, although it did not necessarily mean that its academic regimen suited all those accepted, at least provided the opportunity, and parents were accordingly happy.[90]

Subsequently, in 1946, the north and the centre of the island went over to the multilateral/comprehensive scheme. Ballakermeen opened its doors to Manx children for the first time since 1939, after its war-time role as H.M.S. St. George, a shorebased school for boy entrants in the Royal Navy, of whom 8,677 had passed through it in six years of sequestration.[91] Its 1946 prospectus advanced the following positive note of address:

> In the Isle of Man, ... we can go forward with the plan, having little to fear from the arguments advanced by the opponents of multilateralism. The scheme may be likened to the beginning of a great adventure. As the years go by, there will gradually and imperceptively arise a truly educated people to form the basis of our democratic way of life.[92]

Brave words, no doubt, but words which were to prove true. All school fees were, of course, abandoned, the payment of such not being "compatible with the decision to establish multilateral schools in Douglas and Ramsey, to which all children would go without entrance test ...."[92]

Greater equality of opportunity in secondary education therefore presented itself to children in the north and centre of the island, thanks in part to the ready availability of suitable buildings and to the resolve of the Director of Education. The fact, also, that the Burnham scale was in operation on the island made for easy change with regard to teachers, moving from the old system to the new without any undue bother.[94]

Five-sixths of the island was therefore under the new scheme in 1946, with the remaining one-sixth (the Castletown, Port St. Mary, Port Erin and Ballasalla region) waiting for two years before inclusion. This was due to the fact that the Castle Rushen High School, a twenty-one acre complex, was not completed until 1948, the old buildings in Castletown not being able to cope with a multilateral plan of operation.

Optimism outweighed pessimism. The Speaker of Tynwald Court, commenting upon the new educational venture in 1947, stated that such schooling was particularly pertinent to the Isle of Man, since, with its limited population, it had not been able to enjoy the choice of building different types of schools (the technical, academic and vocational) as was the case in England. Man was therefore in the "very happy position" of being able to "follow the great educational advances made in England," while Manx children would have equality of educational opportunity, no matter what the ability or rate of development.[95] The chief opponent of segregated schooling, Mr. A. Moore, M.H.K., hailed comprehensive schooling as a "children's charter," which provided equality for all and in so doing gave new significance to secondary education. It was, he said, nothing short of a "new and revolutionary idea" and was a "fine venture in common sense."[96] Both these men felt pride in what had been accomplished in Man and can therefore be excused their rhetoric; but a great accomplishment had been made, nonetheless. It was a step into the unknown, certainly, but conditions peculiar to the Isle of Man warranted such a venture. Harmony, it was hoped, would supplant anxiety, apprehension and jealousy, and a new measure of opportunity would discredit the old stratification, even though stratification within the schools was to occur. Homogeneous grouping was still to play an important part in the organization of pupils for instruction.

Not all Manx people, however, welcomed the new moves. There was opposition to Fletcher's untried and dubious developments in education which came from certain sectors of Manx society, the members of whom, for one reason or another, preferred the retention of the traditional and tried methods. These groups tended to regard the mainland as the fount of wisdom in all educational thinking, and disliked the idea of seeing innovations of a levelling and questionable nature issue from an island L.E.A. which presumed to know better than the Authorities in England. Besides, they argued, there was still going to be streaming, so why cover up segregation with just a new name? T.C. Cowin, M.H.K., called the move nothing more than experimentation, and very poor experimentation at that.[97] Many teachers also opposed it, especially those who could not adapt themselves to the absence of covert academic segregation. Still others feared that segregation, which would continue internally, would renderthe whole exercise as nothing more than a deceitful sham. Some parents became disillusioned when they realized that jealousy of clever children and their abilities did not disappear with this new departure form the old ways. Parents or ordinary children continued to exert pressure on their off-spring, now that they rubbed shoulders with the academically able, still expecting wonders which rarely happened. It was certainly no panacea for all or anything distasteful found in the past, a past which was looked upon favourably by many, especially the old-boy network of the island's grammar schools, which disliked what was happening and seized every opportunity to discredit the venture.

Elitism continued on the island, just as it had done since the introduction of English grammar schools three hundred years before. The two public schools, King William's College and the Buchan School, both continued to attract students whose parents saw the advantages of prestigious schooling. Places were still there for those who could pass the entrance examinations, with the L.E.A. providing full scholarships for students deemed able to benefit from a public school education, and indeed, Mr. H.C. Wilkinson, O.B.E., M.A., ex-Director of Education for the Isle of Man (1958-69) has ventured the opinion that comprehensive schooling only succeeded on the island because there was the elitist alternative available for those who wanted it. It therefore permitted an "elitist safety valve" to function alongside the comprehensive schools, siphoning off the most academically talented Manx children at the age of eleven.[98] What had once been the preserve of competition for a grammar school place now became associated with a public school. A shift of educational sights had therefore occurred, which, paradoxically, continued to produce the old jealousy and envy, albeit at a different level.

The 1949 Education Act, Consolidation of Comprehensive Schooling and Post Script

In what had now become standard Manx legislative practice in the educational sphere, Tynwald did not let the English 1944 Education Act go by without realizing the implications for the Isle of Man. Comparable legislation consequently found its way into the Manx statute books in 1949. "Education in the Isle of Man," stated Alfred Moore, M.H.K., "is so bound up with education in England that we must follow in the mother country's footsteps."[99] Moore was not incorrect in his assessment of Man's position in relationship to England, despite the fact that he had been most vocal in the condemnation of the educational model which England adopted in 1944. Man was a part of the mainland's system of education, and what the mainland did in educational provision, Man was sure to follow some time later, although not exactly in England's footsteps. Man had little choice. As an off-shore L.E.A., it was compelled to aquiesce in whatever prevailing ideology the metropolis chose to adopt and was only allowed to deviate from the English norm subject to the affirmative nod from Whitehall. As Moore further observed, with regard to the personnel who now staffed the Manx schools, pacing with England was a matter of course:

> A large number of teachers come from the mainland; there are not sufficient teachers in the Isle of Man to staff our schools, and if we expect the right kind of teaching in the Isle of Man, then we are bound to have the same system as they have in England.100

It was therefore "fitting" for Tynwald to introduce an Education Bill in 1948 which closely paralleled the Butler Act, Man had been without a comparable piece of legislation during the intervening time. One child in four had secured entry to a secondary school in Man in the pre-1944 era and five-sixths by 1966-7; the Bill was intent upon keeping this "Manx edge" over the English statistics. There was to be no "wastage of talent" by the incorporation of an eleven-plus style examination: comprehensive education would obviate such a consequence. Centring around the (by now) familiar formulary that education was to consist of three successive stages of progression (primary, secondary and further) the Manx Bill charged the Isle of Man Education Authority with the duty of contributing towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community be seeing that efficient education was made available throughout the stages, in accordance with the needs of the Manx people.[101] Instruction and training had to be contingent upon the different ages, abilities and aptitudes of the pupils, with practical and academic subjects being offered at all stages of development.

The primary schools which were under full state authority became, known, like their counterparts in england, as "county" schools, while the voluntary schools were given the designation "controlled" or "aided" or "special agreement" -- just as comparable mainland schools were.[102] Religious instruction in all schools entailed the act of collective workshop, with all pupils in attendance, but no such worship was to be distinctive of any particular religious denomination and no religious instruction was to contain catechisms or formularies distinctive of any denomination -- by now, familiar canons of English and Manx religious teaching since 1870 and 1872 respectively.[103] Where the trust deeds of "controlled" schools made special provision for particular denominational instruction, such wishes were to be honoured. Overseeing all religious instruction was the 1921 - originated Religious Instruction Advisory Committee, with its composition of Church of England, Free Church and Authority personnel, each assuming one-third of the seats on the eighteen-member council. This Committee prepared the syllabus for use in all schools maintained by the Authority, recommended text books, arranged for conduct of examinations and advised the Authority on matters of religious education in general.[104] It was a matter of some pride that the English had adopted this aspect of Manx education under the Butler Act -- the Agreed Syllabus -- themselves although English society was purportedly growing predominantly secular in outlook. Religious instruction -- on the mainland at least -- became the subject of constant discussion, and its teaching tended to form a part of civics, social studies or ethics. There is little indication that such a shift occured in Man, however, where religiosity may have been maintained on a more traditional level than in England.

The school leaving age was reiterated as being fifteen (after a delay of ten years) and a county college, or College of Further Education, was to be established with part-time education to be given its proper place in the insular scheme. In addition, the Authority was to provide a multitude of services, from free milk (as certified by the School Medical Officer, for the needy) and meals (for 3d per day[105]) to board and lodging for pupils at special schools in the island or in England, and from clothing provision to more scholarships, exhibitions, bursaries and the like -- exactly as had been done with the Butler Act.

It was, to all intents and purposes, a legislative copy of the English Act and Alfred Moore (now a vocal supporter of Manx replication of English legislative advances) stated:

> We have an almost complete copy of the English Act, with of course certain alterations to make it applicable to the Isle of Man. I think ... this is a very good policy to follow the English legislation .106

The 1949 Act is still the basic Act upon which the Manx educational system operates today, and, although there have been legislative enactments since that time, the Act remains the foundation stone of present Manx educational philosophy and practice.

By 1950, the whole of Man became geared to an educational model which was to prove to be the way of the future for state-sponsored British education. As societal needs changed and fourteen years of Conservative Government gave way to Harold Wilson's Labour Government in 1964, educational thought underwent considerable change. Enough criticism had been levelled at the basically two track English system for the Labour Government to authorize the transformation of secondary schooling under the guidelines of Circular 10/65.[107] With its insular neighbour, Angelsey, Man had possessed the only complete system of comprehensive schooling in the British Isles until well into the 'fifties, when other L.E.A.'s began to realize the value of such schooling. By 1962, twenty-three L.E.A.'s had converted to the system, making for a total of 106 schools offering such a plan. By 1971, the figure had risen to 1,300, an indication of the pace of change where governmental urgings accelerated the trend.

Robin Pedley, a promoter of Manx-style comprehensive education on the mainland, wrote favourably of what the Manx had achieved by the mid 'fifties. He examined both Man and Angelsey, being the only two L.E.A.'s within the English system to have espoused the plan, and then described Castle Rushen High School (in operation since 1947) as being an exemplar of such schooling. This school, under the headship of Mr. G. Cretney (a Manxman who was subsequently knighted for his services to education and to comprehensive schooling in particular), was achieving much that was commendable academically and socially. Pedley had the following to say on what the school had become to the people of the area:

At Castletown, in the Isle of Man, the High School acts at once as

> a focal point for the cultural life of the area -- all the southern part of the island -- and as a fertilizing agent in the little town and surrounding villages. For example, parents and friends join in the school orchestra; children in turn are members of local bands and music societies. This interaction goes on in a number of ways. Not the least important is the constant informal consultation between teachers and parents about individual children.107

Suffice to say, the school meant more to the local inhabitants because of the wider association of a larger number of children and adults with the institution, in a way which a grammar school perhaps never could. In a small community, comprehensive schooling was a boon; it created a cohesiveness and identification which could never have existed, had the community to deal with continued educational segregation.

It would be facetious, perhaps, to say that the secondary school wheel had come full circle during the three hundred years encompassed by this study, with the Manx showing the way for the mainland. Certainly though, just as England had shown the way in the seventeenth century, with Bishop Barrow's founding of an English grammar school in Castletown (which, incidentally, did not close its doors until 1930) Man, in the shape of comprehensive schooling, gave England a more appropriate form of organization for use in the second half of this century. From the Castletown Grammar School to the Castle Rushen High School, from the imported exemplar to the exported exemplar, Man witnessed all manner of educational models and accompanying ideology. Manx personalities, such as Fletcher, Wilkinson and Cretney, as educational practitioners who deviated from the English norm, contributed much in the way of pragmatic approaches to the Manx situation. The needs of the island were not those of the mainland, no matter how much imported formularies were urged upon the Manx. Standards of academic attainment were certainly every bit as applicable in Man as in any other L.E.A., but the Manx, because of their non-political involvement with education and because of peculiaritities within the socio-economic structure, reorganized in a different pattern to that which shaped itself on the mainland. That it proved to be successful in attaining the desired results in academic achievement, greater social harmony and equality of opportunity is attributable in no small measure to the Manx people themselves, who basically believed in its value to the island.

Reorganization is still taking place in Man today. In the Douglas area, as of September, 1985, the Ballakermeen and Douglas High Schools were reformed as eleven to eighteen "through schools," from their older status as middle (11 - 14) and high (14 - 18) schools respectively.[109] Still a further comprehensive addition to the fold has taken place on the outskirts of Peel, with the opening of the Queen Elizabeth II High School in 1979, the year of the Manx Millenium of the founding of Tynwald. This "through school" taking eleven to eighteen year olds, now serves the western district of the island, relieving the pressure on Douglas.

However, the success of the Manx comprehensive school program may well be a vindication of a certain brand of eclecticism which has long been in evidence in Man: adapt from elsewhere that which suits the needs of the island. Despite the fact that even today the comprehensive issue is a contentious issue in England, with grammar schools and the eleven plus being favoured for retention by the Conservatives (local option being the Tory thrust) and schooling being championed by the Labour Party, the Manx, in their essentially a-political system, never had to contend with such a protracted battering of children and schools. The island took what it wanted educationally, as far as it was able, in the same fashion as Tynwald took and adapted that which was allowed by Westminster. Within the parameters of limited independence, both Manx systems moulded and were in turn moulded by prudent and pragmatic adaptation, in order to suit the climates of the times -- political, religious, economic, social and cultural.

The Isle of Man may be a semi-detached part of the English system, as Bell and Grant observe,[110] but it still strives to maintain an independent and distinct identity within the British political, cultural and historical mosaic. It may never have a complete educational system, with a university to cap its endeavours, but the future hold many surprises. A University of Man could well be in the offing by the year 2000, specializing in Gaelic studies, by dint of Man being in the geographical centre of the Celtic fringe and the Celtic revival movement. However, there will be no support for a university, except, perhaps, for one similar in concept to that of the Buckingham enterprise, which is a private, fee-paying institution.[111] In the meantime, the island offers many post-secondary courses of study with its College of Education in Douglas, which has been successfully serving the Manx community since 1959/60.

REFERENCES

[1] **Raymond Williams,** Culture and Society 1780 - 1950 (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Pelican Books, 1977). Although no free place system was in operation in the Isle of Man at this time comparable to that which existed in England, with grammar schools admitting 25 percent of their pupils on a scholarship basis, the Douglas Secondary School, a Higher Grade form of establishment, offered places subject to the payment of a small fee, and did offer a few scholarships, in accordance with the terms of the 1907 Act. The three other secondary school districts on the island had no such school. The island's grammar and public schools were largely the preserve of the Anglo-Manx middle class and were, for the most part, fee-paying schools.

[2] **S.J. Curtis,** Education in Britain Since 1900 London: Andrew Dakers, Ltd., 1952; repring ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1970).

[3] See: **Eric Eaglesham,** Foundations of Twentieth Century Education (London: Routledge and Kegan paul, 1967), pp. 51-3, and Curtis, Education in Britain, pp. 45-67.

[4] See: **Curtis,** Education in Britain, p. 72.

[5] In 1913, 634,512 visitors arrived, while 1914, the year of the opening of hostilities with the Central Powers, 416,335 visitors arrived. Thereafter, there was a decline: 1915 - 34,108; 1916 - 52,983; 1917 - 51,062. In 1918, the numbers rose significantly to 343,332, and by 1920, pre-war figures were once again reached, with 561,124. From this time until 1939, levels were inthe 400,000 - 500,000+ region, with only 1926, the year of the general strike, dropping to 384,705. (Tony Faragher, ed., The Official Isle of Man Year Book, 1984 (Ramsey: Motor in Mann Publications Ltd., 1984), p. 170.

[6] **C.W. Airne,** The Story of the Isle of Man, 2 vols. (Douglas: Norris Modern Press, Ltd., 1964), vol. 2: 1406 to Modern Times, p. 179.

[7] **D.G. Kermode,** Devolution at Work: A Case Study of the Isle of Man (Westmead, Farnborough, Hampshire: Saxon House, 1979), p. 39. Theoretically, Man could have every penny of revenue spent without reference to or the consent of the Manx people. The Lieutenant-Governor and the Treasury remained in control of Manx finances and only their goodwill gave Tynwald a say in taxation and revenue disbursements.

[8] Forty Third Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1915 (Douglas: S.K. Braodbent and Co. Ltd., 1915), pp. 67-77, and Statutes of the Isle of Man vol. 9 (1910 - 1915) Douglas: Brown and Sons, 1922), pp. 408-411. Most of these children were accommodated in special schools in Liverpool.

[9] Forty Third Report, p. 75. These "co-opted members" were limited to the following numbers on the Boards of Higher Education: Easter District: 4; Western District: 3; Northern District: 4; Souther District: 3. Although Manx women who were spinsters and widows had been enfranchised since 1888 (with the appropriate property qualifications),

they were obviously not regarded as being the equal of men on the Boards, particularly with reference to monetary issues.

[10] See: *Statutes of the Isle of Man* vol. 10 (1916-1920: 1925), "An Act to Refound the Douglas Grammar School and to Amalgamate Such School with the Douglas (Dalton Street) Grammar School," pp. 32-36.

[11] See: *Forty Sixth Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man*, 1918, pp. 8-16. Higher education grants had risen from £2,238 in 1910 to £,607 in 1919, for a decreasing population: in 1918, 5,585 children attended 46 elementary schools with the high point having been reached around the turn of the century, when just over 8,000 were in attendance between 1896 and 1902. Thereafter, numbers declined, with higher education students comprising approximately 520 places altogether, with supplementary classes and regular secondary establishments, i.e., the Eastern District Secondary School, the School of Art and the Southern Higher Education School. (ibid., pp. 58-59)

[12] **Ibid.,** Appendix KK, "General Report of H.M. Inspectors of the Evening Schools in the Isle of Man for the Session 1917-1918, " pp. 24-25.

[13] **H.A.L. Fisher,** introducing the Education Bill, August 10, 1917 (Hansard), quoted in: J.S. Maclure, *Educational Documents England and Wales, 1816-1967* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd.,) p. 174.

[14] **Ibid.,** pp. 173 and 175.

[15] **H.C. Dent,** *Education in England and Wales*, 2nd ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981), p. 14.

[16] **Brian Simon,** "Classification and Streaming: A Study of Grouping in English Schools 1860-1960," in Paul Nash ed., *History and Education* (New York: Random House, 1970), pp. 124-5.

[17] "An Act to make Further Provision for Education in the Island," 1921. *Statutes of the Isle of Man* vol. 11 (1921-1924: 1935) p. 6. Peel, Castletown and the local government districts of Port Erin and Port St. Mary returned one member each, while the sheadings of Middle, Garff, Ayre, Michael, Rushen and Glenfaba each returned two members.

[18] *Report of the Commission on the Administration of Education,* by S. Wadsworth, Chairman (Douglas: Isle of Man Government, March, 1961), p. 3.

[19] **Ibid.,** pp. 10-13.

[20] **Ibid.,** pp. 25-26. This Religious Instruction Advisory Committee comprised one-third representatives of the Church of England, one-third of the Free Churches and one-third of the teachers in the employ of the Central Authority. It was thus a Protestant body, Catholics being excluded. See Also: *Debates in the Manx Legislature* vol. 37 (November 11 - July 10, 1920), *House of Keys* April 27, 1920, pp. 572-3, and: *Legislative Council*, June 22, 1920, pp. 814-817.

[21] Debates, vol. 37, House of Keys, April 27, 1920, p. 572 Shimmin further questioned the ability of clergymen to agree upon the correct interpretation of the Scriptures:

> "From the story of the Creation to that of the Atonement, they (the clergy) are not agreed, and to ask them to draw up a syllabus which shall be taught as recognized truth will indeed be to set them a problem." (ibid., p. 573)

[22] **Ibid.** See also: Isle of Man Examiner, April 24, 1920.

[23] Debates, vol. 37, Legislative Council, June 1, 1920, pp. 766-7. See also: Isle of Man Examiner, April 24, 1920.

[24] **Ibid.**, p. 767.

[25] "Religious Instruction in Schools," Isle of Man Examiner, April 30, 1921.

[26] Debates, vol. 37, Legislative Council, June 1, 1920, p. 767.

[27] Statutes, vol. 11, paragraph 82, p. 25.

[28] **Kermode**, Devolution, p. 39. See also: Isle of Man Examiner, April 24, 1920.

[29] **Ibid.**, p. 45. This worked well and by 1927 the five-man committee became the Finance Committee of the House of Keys. But the Keys were little more than advisors and in 1928, they asked that the Treasury control be removed, giving the Finance Committee full powers over Manx finances. The Home Office refused such a radical idea and quashed further requests in this area until 1943.

[30] **Curtis**, Education in Britain, pp. 85-86. These figures were for trained teachers, whose minimum wages were £85 (male) and £70 (female). Uncertified teachers earned between £76 and £69 on an average. Manx teachers generally being non-graduates, desired £140 (male and £120 (female) rising by increments to £260 and £195 respectively (this was approximately the minimum recommended in November of 1919 as per the Burnham scale, which was £160 - £300 (male and £150 - £240 (female). Uncertified teachers were to receive £100 - £150 (male) and £90 - £140 (female). Graduates at the Eastern District Secondary School desired between £200 - £225 (commencing) to £450 maximum. (See: Isle of Man Examiner, March 20 and October 30, 1920).

[31] Forty Eighth Report of the Council of Education, 1920, 0. 6.

[32] Isle of Man Examiner, October 2, 1920.

[33] Debates, vol. 38 (October 1920 - July 1921) Tynwald Court, November 9, 1920, p. 94.

[34] "The Teachers Win," Isle of Man Examiner, November 13, 1920, and: Forty Ninth Report of the Council of Education, 1921, p. 10.

[35] **Ibid.**, p. 12. Expenditures for all levels of education reached

almost £36,000 in 1921; 6,001 scholars were on the registers, of whom 5,680 were of compulsory school age (5-14); 80 were between 14 and 15 and 3 were over 15 years of age. Some 4,749 pupils attended 41 state schools (costing £8 7 2 per child to maintain), while 522 attended 4 voluntary schools, costing £6 4 10 per child to maintain. Voluntary contributions per child were in the region of 13s 7d. (ibid., pp. 71-72)

[36] Debates, vol. 39 (October 1921 - July 1922) Tynwald Court, June 7, 1922, pp. 926-7.

[37] Ibid.

[38] See: R.H. Tawney, Secondary Education for All: A Policy for Labour (London: Allen and Unwin, 1922).

[39] Ibid., p. 7.

[40] The Hadow Report, Introduction, in Maclure, Educational Documents, pp. 180-1.

[41] Brian Simon, The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940 (London: Lawrence and Wishart - 1974) p. 27.

[42] Interview with Mr. H.C. Wilkson, O.B.E., M.A., Deputy Director of Education of the Isle of Man, 1946-58, Director of Education, 1958-69, Douglas, July 17, 1983.

[43] Simon, Politics of Educational Reform.

[44] Letter, "Children Travelling to the Secondary School," Isle of Man Examiner, December 12, 1924. The writer asserted that such "nigger - driving" would not be tolerated in any other country in the world.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Fifty Second Report of the Council of Education, 1924, p. 6. Higher education received £9,617 while elementary received £33,084 at this time.

[47] See: "Education Act, 1924," Statutes, vol. 11 (1921-4: 1935), pp. 434-519.

[48] "Special places" were in place by 1932, ordered by Circular 1421, September, 1932.

[49] Simon, Politics of Educational Reform, p. 183. An abandonment of the principles and perspectives of "secondary education for all" was apparent and accordingly drew protests from the Labour movement, trade union, councils, co-operative societies, teachers' organizations, L.E.A.'s and the Methodist Church. It penalized the poor in a manner reminiscent of Benthamite thinking of a century earlier.

[50] Fifty Eighth Annual Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1930, p. 4. Until this time, the Buchan School had been entirely

fee-paying, and was the female equivalent of King William's College. The 10 percent free places of 1929 introduced working class children to this middle class institution for the first time since its founding in1875. The sum of the grant was £350 per year, enabling 15 girls to attend the school.

[51] **Ibid.**, pp. 4-5.

[52] Fifty Sixth Annual Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1928, p. 12. Twenty six percent of the private school students were under eight years of age, 35 percent were between 8 and 11 and 39 percent were over 11, with 15 percent over 14. Approximately 200 students were therefore of secondary age and were inspected by Inspectors of the Secondary Branch.

[53] Fifty Eighth Report, 1930, p. 7.

[54] The Council stated:
"H.M. Inspectors are of the opinion that, owing to the isolation of the Island, our schools have been cut off from the new outlook and methods which have followed the publication of the Hadow Report." (Sixtieth Annual Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1932, p. 4)
A further statement from the inspectors indicated that Manx teachers were not conversant with mainland developments in the "new principles":

> "From this atmosphere of experiment and exploration, the schools of the Island have, from natural causes, been largely cut off. It has been almost impossible for their teachers to supplement the study of the new principles in practice watching experiments in progress and by discussion of their difficulties and results with colleagues who have actually experienced them. It is important that the schools in the Island should be kept abreast of the latest developments in education; and it is accordingly suggested that the Council might wish to consider measures for giving some of their teachers an opportunity to see the new methods at work in schools on the mainland and to study and discuss the new principles in close contact with their practical application." (Sixtieth Report, 1932, p. 6)

[55] The majority of the unreorganized schools were voluntary schools, which had found the cost of reorganizing rather more daunting than their fully state-supported counterparts.

[56] See: Sixtieth Report, 1932, p. 5.

[57] **Ibid.**

[58] They were: R.D. Farrant, S.M. Fry, A.M. Taylor, J.B. Clague, T.B. Cowley, H.J. Simmonds and W.R. Webster (secretary).

[59] Report of the Isle of Man Education Commission, Man 1933, by Sir Edmund Phipps, Chairman (Douglas: Isle of Man Government, 1933), p. 3.

[60] **Ibid.,** p. 8. The problem was that Manx pay was lower than that on the mainland: £18 16 0 was an average wage per month for Manx teachers, compared with £20 4 0 in Cumberland.

[61] The fees for K.W.C. were as follows: day pupils: £28 (lower); middle and upper: £30 10 0 with a £10 reduction for Manx boys. Boarders were charged £102 (junior) and £126 (other houses).

[62] **Ibid.,** p. 17. This matter was brought up again in 1945 by Mr. A.E. Kitto, M.H.K., who wanted to abolish the Council of Education and the Education Authority, both roles to be taken over by a Board of Tynwald. (See: *Isle of Man Examiner*, July 27, 1945; see also: *Debates*, vol. 51 (October 1937-October 1934), *House of Keys*, May 8, 1934, p. 620; and *Tynwald Court*, June 8, 1933, p. 766)

[63] *Sixty Third Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man*, 1935, pp. 4 and 6.

[64] **Ibid.,** p. 5.

[65] The Spens Report, in: Maclure, *Educational Documents*, p. 197.

[66] **Ibid.,** p. 198.

[67] *Sixty Fifth Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man*, 1937, p. 5.

[68] *Sixty Seventh Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man*, 1939, p. 5. There were also some 5,229 children on the registers in public elementary schools in 1939, making for a total of 6,298 students enrolled in sundry schools, excluding approximately 70 youths aged between 14 and 18, who were enrolled in the "Classes for Unemployed Youths."

[69] **R.D. Farrant,** *Education Commission*, 1933, p. 24.

[70] **Ibid.** The 18 dissenting Keys felt that since a greater percentage of the Manx population than that of England was in military service under the Crown, the Isle of Man was carrying a load as heavy as it could bear. This required that men between the ages of 18 and 51 be made liable for military service.

[71] **Ibid.** The 18 dissenting Keys felt that since a greater percentage of the Manx population than that of England was in military service under the Crown, the Isle of Man was carrying a load as heavy as it could bear.

[72] **Ibid.,** p. 47.

[73] **R.H. Kinvig,** The Isle of Man: *A Social, Cultural and Political History*, 3rd ed. (Liverpool: University Press, 1975), p. 167. This is doubtful, since it had little power until 1958 and was merely a sop to Manx pride until that time. The MacDermott Commission of 1958 spoke disparagingly of the "failure of the Executive Council ... to provide a form of responsible government." (ibid., p. 167) Treasury control continued in its traditional way until 1958, when Westminster finally authorized the transfer of power to Tynwald, the governor's concurrence still being needed in financial matters.

[74] See: **Sir Fred Clarke,** Education and Social Change (London: The Sheldon Press, 1940) and Sir Richard Livingstone, The Future in Education (Cambridge: University Press, 1941).

[75] As the paper states:

"The Government's purpose in putting forward the reforms ... is to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in lfe; to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are. The new educational opportunities must not, therefore, be of a single pattern. It is just as important to achieve diversity as it is to ensure equality of educational opportunity." (White Paper on Educational Reconstruction, 1943, in: Maclure, Educational Documents, p. 206)

[76] Debates, vol. 61 (October 1943 - July 1944) Tynwald Court, March 21, 1944, pp. 324-5. See Also: "The Future of Education," Isle of Man Examiner, March 24, 1944.

[77] There have been many works and studies on this aspect of the Butler Act. The writer himself was a victim of the screening process at the age of 11+ and was one of 45 children in a class from which eight were designated "grammar school material." The writer was allocated a secondary modern education which was, as has been previously noted with regard to Hadow's dictates, a diluted course in the core subjects. Termination was expected at the age of fifteen. For further reading on this subject, the following two books are recommended: Brian Simon, "Classification and Streaming: A Study of Grouping in English Schools 1860-1960," in Paul Nash ed., History and Education (New York: Random House, 1970) and W. Kenneth Richmond, Education in Britain Since 1944 (London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1978).

[78] **W. Kenneth Richmond,** Education in Britain Since 1944. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1978) p. 35.

[79] **H.C. Barnard,** A History of English Education From 1760 (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1961), p. 329.

[80] The Norwood Report did not actually espouse the retention of the 11+ examination. Instead, it proposed that at the age of 11 or 12 the child should be moved into secondary education, but at a "lower school." Here, the child would be under two years of observation, where his progress and development could be monitored. From here, the sifting process would be more aptly facilitated. The lower school was, in effect, to be a clearing house, where diagnostic testing would channel youngsters into an appropriate secondary track. Although the Ministry of Education rejected such a proposal, the Manx idea of multilateral education for this age group, in a "middle school," with no 11+ examination, was an allied concept. (See: Curtis, Education in Britain, pp. 146-7)

[81] Seventy Third Annual Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1945, pp. 6-7.

[82] **Ibid.,** p. 7. See also: Debates, vol. 65 (October 1947 - August 1948) House of Keys, May 4, 1948, p. 711.

[83] Differentiation was attempted, but had to be abandoned. Parental pressure demanded equality of opportunity, no matter what the outcome. (Seventy Third Annual Report, 1945, p. 8).

[84] "Education Authority's Experiment," Isle of Man Examiner, March 9, 1945. This proved to many that "some children develop later than others and that a pupil's chances of a career should not rest upon an examination taken at the age of 10 or 11 years." (ibid.)

[85] Debates, vol. 62 (September 1944 - August 1945) Tynwald Court, March 20, 1945, p. 388.

[86] See: Isle of Man Examiner, July 27, 1945, and Debates, vol. 62 and vol. 63 (October 1945 - September 1946) Tynwald Court, December 18, 1945, pp. 182-7. Certain members of the legislature, namely MHK's Kitto and Farrant and the Deemster Farrant, harked back to recommendations in the Phipps Report of 1933. This commission envisaged a re-vamped central educational administration, with an Education Council directly controlling all educational matters. Its composition was to be drawn from Tynwald's members and the public, totalling fifteen members in all. It was to be presided over by a member of the legislature. Greater control would therefore be gained by the Manx Government and it would no longer be a passive "rubber stamp" to what the Education Authority wanted.

[87] **H.L. Fletcher,** Director of Education, Seventy Fourth Annual Report of the Council of Education for the Isle of Man, 1946, p. 8.

[88] **Ibid.**, p. 9.

[89] **Ibid.**

[90] All three new schools in actual fact were not going to be so small: the Douglas High School for Boys, for instance, would be able to cater for some 800 boys. Ballakermeen itself could house 480 boys and 480 girls.

[91] **Prospectus**, Ballakermeen Comprehensive School, 1946.

[92] **Ibid.**

[93] "The Rising Cost of Education," Isle of Man Examiner, March 29, 1946. The cost of education for 1946/47 was in the region of £197,695. Tynwald provided 55 percent of the sum.

[94] Interview, H.C. Wilkinson. I am grateful for this having been brought to my attention. Mr. Wilkinson was appointed Administrative Assistant to the Director, H.L. Fletcher, on May 31, 1946. He was to take comprehensive schooling successfully on into the 'fifties and 'sixties, becoming Director of Education himself in 1959 until his retirement in 1969.

[95] Debates, vol. 64 (October 1946 - August 1947) Tynwald Court, March 19, 1947, pp. 438-9.

[96] **Ibid.**, p. 442.

[97] **Ibid.**

[98] Interview, H.C. Wilkinson.

[99] Debates, vol. 65 Tynwald Court, March 17, 1948, p. 553.

[100] **Ibid.** As Moore stated in the same speech:

> "The Schools in the Isle of Man are all inspected by inspectors from the Ministry of Education. Regulations which apply to schools in England also apply to opposite numbers in the Isle of Man, so you see that we are bound to keep in step." (ibid., p. 554).

See also: House of Keys, May 4, 1948, p. 716. Moore reiterated the same sentiments in endorsing the Manx Education Bill.

[101] "The Education Act, 1949," Statutes, vol. 17 (1948-1951: 1961), pp. 530-1.

[102] In an "aided" school, there was a 50 percent grant towards external repairs, with teacher's salaries and other repairs found by the L.E.A. "Special agreement" schools saw their denominational teachers appointed by the L.E.A., in addition to similar provisions to the "aided" schools. At the time of writing (1984/5) only one voluntary school belonging to the Church of England is operating -- St. Thomas'-- also known as the "Penny School." It has 75 pupils in 3 classes and accepts children from all other denominations. These are mainly the children of hoteliers and guest house owners. This school is the only primary school on the island which is on the sea-front. Its expenses (apart from 15 percent) are paid for under the terms of the 1949 Act. Douglas' Roman Catholic school (primary) and that of Ramsey, also operate under the terms of the terms of the Act. (Interview with the Rev. David McIntosh, Director, Religious Instruction Advisory Committee, Board of Education; Crosby, Isle of Man, July 28, 1984)

[103] Statutes, vol. 17, p. 553. This was the familiar "Cowper Temple" religion, now a proven feature of British education.

[104] **Ibid.**, pp. 556-7.

[105] By all accounts, these were substantial:

> "Roast beef, potatoes and green with fig roll and custard to follow -- or perhaps meat and potato pie with peas and college pudding, all steaming hot; come back for a second helping if you can manage it -- and all it costs is 3d." (School Meals Service," Isle of Man Examiner, October 28, 1949)

[106] Debates, vol. 65 House of Keys, May 4, 1948, p. 716.

[107] This was the Organization of Secondary Education, dated July 12, 1965. The Department of Education and Science issued six patterns of comprehensive schooling which were designed to eliminate selection at eleven plus and the resulting separation in secondary education. L.E.A.'s could choose their preferred pattern, but were obliged, by Government intent, to reorganize as soon as possible. By 1970, when a Conservative

Government resumed office, 115 authorities had complied with the order. By 1971, there were 1,300 comprehensive schools on the mainland (England) and Wales) catering to 35 percent of the secondary age group.

[108] **Robin Pedley,** Comprehensive Schools Today (London: Councils and Education Press Ltd., undated), p. 19.

[109] Interview with Mr. Alun Davies, LL.B., Director of Education, Douglas, Isle of Man, July 11, 1983.

[110] The Education Act of 1976, passed by a Labour Government, provided compulsion for L.E.A.'s to reorganize along comprehensive lines. This was subsequently reversed by a Conservative Government in 1979.

[111] Interview, A. Davies.

INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

> The relation of the Isle of Man to the United Kingdom is like that of a ship's tender to a big liner; the movements of each are to some extent regulated by those of the other. The crews, however, lead separate lives with outlook, needs and customs radically different. And when ... the big ship begins to behave in a peculiar manner and make unusual and unwarranted demands upon the tender, the relations normally existing between the two vessels are upset.[1]

The above view of Man's relationship to the United Kingdom was intended to serve as a device by which E. La Mothe Stowell, a Manx nationalist, could show the problematic nature of the Manx-English situation in political and economic matters in 1949. Manx outlook, needs and customs may well be quite different from those of England, as La Mothe Stowell suggests, but these have not been the concern of England during the last three centuries. Rather, they have been the concern of the Manx, who, as the crew of the ship's tender, have been the recipients of the dictates of the larger vessel's officers, crew and passengers. Another Manxman, D.G. Kermode, has stated that the historical relationship between the Isle of Man and the United Kingdom has been essentially that of a colonial one; the island has never been represented in the U.K. institutions of government and has always been -- and continues to be -- subject to English authority.[2] With these views in mind, then, the following interpretations and conclusions will hopefully serve as a window through which to view the history of Manx schooling during three hundred years of development and change, since such schooling has never been solely the provision of the Manx alone. The presence of English authority was--and is--an inescapable fact of life for the Manx; they had to defer to it and accommodate it throughout the period in question. Quite naturally, the Manx have not always seen eye to eye with its demands, in schooling or any other aspect of its presence, and have striven to retain an essential "Manxness" in their institutions and infra structure. The mainland, however, looms large in all Manx thinking. English authority has been exercised in a number of ways, legitimized first by English manorial then colonial right. Through the office of the Governor under the Stanley and Athollregimes to 1765, and then through its Imperial successor, the Lieutenant-Governorship thereafter, English administrators applied mainland modes of operation to Man whenever applicable. When the island came under the jurisdiction of the Home Office in 1782, the Home Secretary became, in effect, the absentee Lord of Man. Ultimate responsibility for Manx affairs lay with his office and this was especially so at the turn of this century, when the Home Office assumed the older role of the Treasury in monitoring Manx financial matters. Additionally, the Imperial Parliament has, since the Act of Revestment in 1765, assumed the right to legislate for the Isle of Man on any subject.[3] Parliament, the Imperial Treasury and the Home Office have therefore controlled Manx affairs to a considerable degree, with certain arrangements being negotiated by Tynwald during the course of the past two centuries.[4] Anglicization -- the process of consciously altering numerous aspects of a people, from language and religion to laws and emotional identification -- could hardly be avoided under such circumstances.

The process of anglicization proved to be an inexorable effect of the increasingly influential English presence on the island since 1650, the Manx persisting in their claim to degrees of self-governance, citing that Man was not and never had been a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Although part of the British Isles, it was heir to an ancient tradition of political, economic and cultural self-direction. Indeed, Tynwald -- a millenium old in 1979 and the very embodiment of that ancient independence -- passed a resolution on July 14, 1981, stating the following to be standing policy for future direction:

> The general objective for which Tynwald strives is to promote and continue the evolution of the constitutional relationship between the Isle of Man and the United Kingdom towards "more complete self-government" in accordance with the declared and accepted policy of the United Kingdom for the self-determination of the peoples of dependent territories. This objective thus includes not only the right and the principle of self-determination, but also, in application of them, assured autonomy in respect of the island's internal affairs.5

As to whether these objectives will ever be achieved is a matter of conjecture, but if Manx politicians prevail in their determination to achieve full autonomy for the island, as a self-governing territory within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom, Man's ancient status may well be re-established. Until that time, however, Man remains a special case -- certainly politically and economically -- within the British Isles.

In the United Kingdom context, a Manxman sees himself as being Manx, rather than English, just as Scotsmen, Irishmen and Welshmen differentiate themselves from the English. Any change in Manx political status would not alter the concept of "Manxness" for the islanders, despite their viewing themselves as Britons.

Having thus delineated the relationship of Man to the mainland in broad and albeit brief strokes, what can be said of schooling in the island during the three hundred years on involvement with England? How does English schooling in the "Manx experience" figure in the general scheme of things, and from what perspective must one view this experience?

From being a Gaelic-speaking possession of English lords, the Isle of Man became an English-speaking community under the protection of the Crown whose educational system came to mirror that of the mainland. The English model of schooling and its application in Man over the three centuries in question presents us with a unique case study of what successes and failures befell the shifting modes of the model in a quasi-colonial off-shore setting. As such, it is, in itself, a story of great interest, displaying it heroes, villains and the strivings of both the Manx and mainlanders in the cause of educational betterment for a small, Gaelic community. But is is not sufficient to relate, in categorical form, the history of Manx educational development as an entity in its own right, shorn of all connections with its powerful, English neighbour. To do so would be to ignore the presence of a prime agent (if not an eminence gris) which, by dint of its very being, caused Manx education to take the path it did. In general terms, educational developments within the Isle of Man must be placed within the context of mainland proximity, in order for such developments to be understood more fully. Therefore, perhaps the most interesting of recent Celtic-fringe studies, which helps in this understanding, is Michael Hechter's Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development: 1536-1966.[6]

Although Hechter, an American historian, admits that the Isle of Man has been excluded from his study because of the lack of data on its development compared with Wales, Scotland and Ireland, his conclusions are nonetheless applicable, in a broad sense, to the Manx situation linguistically, politicially, economically and educationally.[7] His is essentially a study of what he terms the English core and the Celtic periphery, with acculturation being perpetrated by the dominant core upon the weaker Gaelic surroundings. The peripheral reaction to that process is delineated in terms which can be easily transposed to the Manx setting.

Ethnic identity persisted in these Gaelic enclaves all through the anglicization process, with political movements for regional devolution and self-determination basing themselves upon a platform of cultural "separateness" from that of the core -- a feature of the process which

Hechter frankly admits is a mysterious phenomenon, especially in an industrial society.[8] The Isle of Man was really no exception in this regard during the period in question. A process of anglicization took place in which the Manx both acquiesed and yet hoped to retain an original identity. The history of Manx schooling illustrates this point to a large extent.

As an agent of change, English schooling in Man was undoubtedly central to the successful anglicization of a Gaelic-speaking peripheral society, and the acceptance of an English model of schooling by the Manx themselves further reinforced an identity of Manx interests with those of the English core.

But while the Manx did offer some measure of resistance to English authority in certain areas of control (mainly finance and government), because of sheer lack of numbers, they were not as successful as their cousins elsewhere in countering assimilation and control by the core. The tool of counter-anglicization took the form of the following:

> The periphery's weapon of resistance to English authority was the nineteenth-century development which came to be known as "Celtic culture," though in many ways this had little in common with its ancient counterpart. The renaissance of Celtic nationalism and the distinctive electoral behaviour of the Celtic territories were all responses to a situation which may be usefully described as colonial.[9]

The Manx also had their version of this Celtic cultural upsurge, although, of course, on a much smaller scale than that of the larger peripheral regions. After its tentative steps during the latter part of the nineteenth century at the hands of Anglo-Manx literati such as T.E. Brown and Sir T. Hall Caine, and at the instigation of such Manx nationalists as A.W. Moore, William Cubbon and Sophia Morrison in the first decades of this century, the idea caught hold. Indeed, the Manx Gaelic Society (Yn Cheshaght Ghailckagh), founded in the latter part of the last century, and dedicated to the preservation and teaching of Manx Gaelic, has as its motto: "Gyn vhengey, gyn cheer," which means "without tongue, without country."[10] This would seem to sum up the feeling of many ardent Manx nationalists today. However, as many Manxmen would agree, a separate language is, in itself, not the predominant feature of a distinctive nationality. It does, however, provide the keystone in any cultural arch, and for this reason, as Mona Douglas -- the leading modern-day proponent of the Manx cultural revival -- believes, the knowledge of Manx Gaelic is essential as a physchological reinforcer. She would see the teaching of Manx as a mandatory part of the educational curriculum in Man, with every teacher required to know the rudiments of the language before being employed in any of the Authority's schools.[11] Such a stance is understandable from this counter-anglicization apostle: she has published numerous articles, poems, plays, songs and books on Manx culture, founded the Manx Youth Movement (Aelagh Vannin) in 1931, and has, since the 1970's, championed the old, revived Manx festival Yn Chruinnaght, a more Gaelic form of the anglicized Manx Music Festival, or Guild, of 1892 vintage.

Appearing rather late in the Celtic revival day is the Manx nationalist group, Mec Vannin (Sons of Man). This party, founded in 1962, parallels other nationalist groups on the Celtic fringe which want complete political severance from England. But in addition, the Mannin Branch of the Celtic League is dedicated to the idea of securing political, cultural, social and economic freedom for Man, as part of the six "Celtic Nations." Such organizations may be said to be out of step with modernity however, the Manx National Party (MNP), with the militant Mec Vannin group, having achieved little success in their separatist aims. As D.G. Kermode states:

> To talk of Manx nationalism and political separateness can be ... misleading, for it remains true that politically, economically and socially, the Island has been greatly influenced by the U.K. 12

This, of course, is certainly true as regards schooling and education generally, as a number of observers from the mainland and Man have admitted, from Bell and Grant, Cameron-Jones and Kelly to A.W. Moore, Kinvig, Owen, Stenning, C. Williamson, A. Davies, Corlett and Kermode Parr. It has been an undeniable fact of Manx social development for over three hundred years and will no doubt continue to be so in the future.

But Hechter's analysis further lends itself in some measure to the Manx experience if one accepts the premise that the dominant metropolitan elite consciously sought to replace the Celtic, indigenous culture with a more acceptable, anglicized form. One might then state that, occasioned by notions of salvation, cultural infusion, religious reformation and linguistic enlightenment -- not forgetting economic and political motives -- English schooling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was imposed upon the Manx in order to free them from "looseness and viciousness" which had supposedly resulted from a society in the throes of degeneration. Certainly the English language in the seventeenth century was seen by Bishop Isaac Barrow as a "cure" for what ailed the Manx, beset as they were by a Gaelic tongue which had precious little literature associated with it, and even less of the word of God. Subsequent English clerics in the eighteenth century -- (with the exception of Mark Hildesley) certainly seem to have espoused Barrow's ideology: the acquisition of the English language was deemed to be a necessary sub-goal to the spiritual salvation of the Gaelic-speaking Manx, as Cameron-Jones and Kelly observe.[13] But this is too simplistic. Such a view does not take into account the efforts of Manxmen themselves in the promotion of English schooling. One only has to cite the origins of the Peel Clothworker's School and the Mathematical School to cast doubt upon such a blanket statement concerning school-imposition for linguistic purposes.

In addition, the acquisition of an English-style education was often viewed with approbation since it meant that the opportunity for betterment was accorded every student fortunate enough to receive it. The constant flight of youth from Man to the mainland over three centuries does not support the thesis that the Manx youth were resentful of such schooling; quite the contrary may well be the case, in that such schooling was welcomed as a ticket to the English world, in commerce, industry, the armed services or numerous professions. Certainly, in time, the Manx and immigrant core-members under-went an identification-shift and, although this did not necessarily entail an identity-shift, it meant that acceptance of ties with England was conceived as being natural and advantageous. English schooling, in keeping with this prevailing opinion, was regarded as being natural and advantageous, even before the events of 1765. Indeed, such expatriate Manxmen as Philip Christian were all too aware of the blessings of an English petty school education as early at the 1650's and not out of respect for Church discipline alone did Manxmen grudgingly acquiesce in the various ordinances of the Anglican Church concerning school attendance. If English clerics are to be pilloried for their work in Manx education during these two centuries, then so should such secularists as Philip Christian and Earl Charles be similarly treated. Cameron-Jones and Kelly, however, are silent on this matter, since to acknowledge the benefits of the provision of English petty schooling by Manxmen would cast doubt upon the thesis that such schooling was provided only by the dominant English group during this period (such provision being in some measure "detrimental" to the Manx).

The population displacement, however, which began in the early nineteenth century and has continued to the present day ensured that English ways, from language to schooling, would predominate. English expectations in education became the norm for the island as immigrants from the north of England, British half-pay officers and their families, lowland Scots farmers and retired English gentry found their way to the towns, farms and villages of Man. The island then became transformed, in essence, into an off-shore English county. Mainland expectations were internalized with little difficulty as the mainland media, economic and societal ties, political and educational affiliations all provided means which made for clear identification with the core.[14]

The incorporation of Man into the United Kingdom during the mid-nineteenth was therefore a formality which officially recognized that which had been in existence for some time -- certainly before 1765 with regard to education, a societal staple which may be viewed as one of the prime agents in the consolidation of English-identification. This process of incorporation was a regular pattern of behaviours, as far as can be discerned, with regard to the English core and the Celtic periphery. The periphery, not the core, was obliged to adapt. As a consequence, indigenous elites who wished to capitalize upon the opportunities afforded by such union readily embraced assimilation in a number of avenues, from learning the English language and having their children schooled in English fashion, to intermarrying and adopting the Anglican religion -- the latter a most palpable (and personal) announcement of espousal of core values.[15]

Apart from the fact that Anglicanism was the established religion of Man and that it brooked no competition until the advent of Methodism shortly after Revestment, (1765) the above identification-shift -- although primarily applied to Ireland, Wales and Scotland -- is also comparable when the Manx experience is in perspective. The inhabitants of other Celtic societies may have had their own peripheries retain non-English cultural norms, with the gulf widening between the two as time went on, but in Man this did not happen. No conflict ensued. The Manx accepted the presence of the English without antagonism, the English language, as a consequence, becoming the vernacular of Man during the course of the nineteenth century. Needless to say, English schooling -- as the only approved form of schooling offered in Man since the Restoration -- further assured the success of anglicization, odd anomalies like the Rev. Hugh Stowell's Manx language school in the early 1800's being merely unofficial family/private enterprises. Acceptance of mainland help in the maintenance of the island's school system, offered by individuals, groups and finally the state, during three hundred years of operation, helped promote English educational practices. Thus, the English influence in schooling barely wavered, as the island was placed under the jurisdiction of first the Lord of Man's English lieutenants and his Anglican prelates, then Imperial officials and agencies thereafter. Man further became increasingly tied to the English model of schooling as incorporation with the mainland presented itself as being both inescapable and advantageous, since increasing English subsidization of Manx elementary schooling was met with general approbation by the middle and aspiring lower ranks of society.

The English model of schooling, then, established itself with considerable ease upon a "prepared population" which was accustomed to being increasingly bilingual beyond the environs of the towns, certainly after 1765, if not before that time (the Manx speech being designated as approximating Midland English dialects by about 1850). Schooling, it must be argued, played a significant part in this process of linguistic re-orientation and in the metaphoric drawing of Man towards the English coastline. English, as has been readily admitted, offered to an often-depressed Manx economy, the way to betterment by emigration. The English-speaking world was literally opened up for impoverished Manxmen, who acknowledged that English schooling gave Manx children equality of opportunity with mainland counterparts in the event of emigration -- a phenomenon with which the youth of Man had been well-acquainted since the days of the Stanley regime. English schooling, therefore, in this context, was welcomed, and although seventeenth and eighteenth century efforts in petty schooling may not have been all that was necessary or even desirable for providing basic literacy to the Manx people, the promoters of such schooling cannot be unduly castigated: they did what they thought fitting in the circumstances of the times.

By the nineteenth century, if one is to judge by the 1819 survey, Manx schooling was poised to make parallel progress with the mainland and by 1872, the Manx had achieved educational parity with their English mentors. The island embraced the code of the English mentors. It also embraced the code of the English Education Department out of both choice and necessity and actually attempted to introduce legislation during the late 1860's which would have stolen W.E. Forster's thunder, had not religious squabbling delayed the measure. Since that time, the Manx have continued to adapt and adopt that which Westminster legislates for the mainland, and have acquiesced in inspection by Whitehall officials. The pattern of following England's lead, by formulating adapted educational measures in Tynwald, became firmly established after 1872, and has become a matter of unwritten policy to the present day. Not every detail of Westminster measures are incorporated into Manx educational policy, of course: pride and the peculiarities of local need often militate against such wholesale imitation, the Religious Education Council and the adoption of comprehensive schooling being but two examples of the deviation from the English norm. Nor has Man always kept pace with mainland educational developments, often to the chagrin of Whitehall; the sluggish provision of adequate state secondary education, the late retention of the Board system with its problems of parochialism, and the faltering Manx steps into Hadow reorganization adequately illustrate this hesitancy to follow every English policy. But, by and large, the two systems have shown a compatibility this century which has ensured harmony between Whitehall and Tynwald, Manx L.E.A. officials being part of the extended mainland, providing the bridge between the two bodies.

Anomalies, however, do occur in the Manx system, despite attempts to follow an orthodox line. As has already been noted, these anomalies are contingent upon Manx circumstances and Whitehall leniency. After the intervention of the Imperial Government in the late 1840's, aberration from Whitehall codes as regards curriculum, standards of academic attainment, teacher qualification, classroom conditions, etc. became less and less. The with-holding of funds soon brought errant schools -- or indeed the whole system -- back into a condition of orthodoxy. Through this control which the mainland exercised upon the purse strings and personnel of the Manx system, little was, and indeed, is effected in Man in numerous areas of practice, that does not have a large degree of Whitehall assent. Therefore, although the Manx educational system, like its political partner, Tynwald, is de jure independent of England, it is de facto heavily influenced by the mainland model and the ideology underlying it.[16] To all intents and purposes, the Manx model is the English model writ small, as it has been for much of the time-period under discussion.

At the primary and secondary levels, the organizational form has been modelled upon standard English practice, the Manx L.E.A. observing regulations in accordance with any other mainland Authority. In this respect, it is little different from its counterparts throughout England, each L.E.A. being in some respect able to deviate within acceptable parameters, exactly as Man has done. However, at the tertiary level, independence (in the sense of separateness and control) ceases. Manx children seeking training in teaching, technology or engineering, graduate or post-graduate qualifications, or entry into the civil service, the officer ranks of commission in the armed services, etc., may gain access to such education only by passing examinations set by English examining bodies. Manx students must therefore, of necessity, follow the same examinable curriculae, use the same text books and espouse English orientation in history, literature, politics, etc. Once channelled into this mainland university, polytechnic and college system, the English influence on Manx students is capped, as Bell and Grant observe,[17] completing a process started in the primary school.

Naturally, under such circumstances, where Whitehall and Manx middle class expectation enmesh in their desires -- the one promoting parity with the mainland and the other expecting it -- the Manx L.E.A. is obliged to adhere to English standards of schooling and academic achievement; to do otherwise would provoke a storm at home and censure from Whitehall. And as Bell and Grant further observe, the constant flow of immigrants from the mainland entrenches the need for conformity, the Manx Authority having to take account of the background of parents and children who expect a continuity of English standards. "Amidst such pressures," they note, "autonomy must perforce be limited."[18]

English standards are further reinforced by yet another presence in the island: the "English" public schools of King William's College and the Buchan School. It is estimated that some 10 percent of the island's secondary schoolchildren attend these two schools, the Manx percentage in their respective enrollments being approximately 30-60 percent of the 360 boys and 300 girls in the early 1970's.[19] This had become even more pronounced in 1982: of the 402 boys at K.W.C., 183 were day pupils (i.e., Manx), while at the Buchan School, of the 350 girls, 295 were day pupils (i.e., Manx).[20] These percentages, of 45.5 percent and 84.2 percent respectively, show that the Manx presence at these two minor public schools has increased since the documentation of the 1906 Jackson Report, when 64 out of 193 boys at K.W.C. were Manx (33 percent), and especially so with the Buchan School, where Manx students heavily outnumber "others." Obviously, there is a felt need by many Manx parents to opt for such schooling for their children, entrance being by both examination and fee, and indeed, both schools have come to represent great pride to the island community; few are the families which cannot claim some affiliation with them at some point over this century and the last. There is little evidence to suggest that these venerable institutions will ever fare badly, since they now provide a viable alternative to those who eschew the taint of the common herd in comprehensive schooling, and are desirous of separation, relative elitism and the benefits of the "old school tie" network, both in Man and the on mainland -- a very real perquisite.

Does this mean, then that local studies -- and hence, ties -- in history, geography, music, folk-lore and language have been increasingly abandoned during this century, only to appear on the elementary and secondary school curriculae as "optional" subjects, available only if time and expertise present themselves? According to the present Director of Education, Mr. Alun Davies, these areas of study are contingent upon teacher enthusiasm and expertise, and public demand.[22] The demand for the Manx language is, according to Davies, minimal. It is therefore not to be found in the curriculum except where a competent teacher is available, and it is then offered on a voluntary bais, i.e. an option. Since, in the opinion of the Director, the Isle of Man is now only culturally on the edge of the Celtic fringe, and is really little more than an English county in a detached position, studies such as Manx Gaelic are incidental to the thrust of the program of studies. And, since Man is now *ipso facto* a part of the English L.E.A. system educationally, where English C.S.E. and G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' level examinations are taken by virtually all Manx students,[23] where 10 percent enter higher education and some 3-5 percent proceed to English colleges and universities, a corpus of distinctive local knowledge, carried through from primary years to the sixth form, may never appear in the "Manx" curriculum.

Thus, the system of education as applied to schools in the Isle of Man is basically indistinguishable from that extant in England. During the three hundred years of its operation, English schooling in Man has come to establish itself as an integral part of Manx life. It may have had its roots in English notions of language-provision and the accompanying benefits of literacy, but it developed into an entity of social infra-structure which gave the Manx more in opportunities for self and societal betterment than even Bishop Barrow could have imagined.

Its history forms a fascinating study in its own right, even though some may view it merely as an adjunct to developments enacted on the mainland. Certainly, mainland happenings were instrumental in shaping much of Manx thinking in relation to education in the island, and certainly, mainland policy, transmitted through individuals and agencies both in Man and on the mainland, came to mould Manx schooling according to familiar patterns in England. But the history of Manx schooling is different from that of England, just as the social history of Lancashire is not imitated by that of Cornwall or Kent or the Channel Isles. Manx schooling, which forms an important part of Manx social history, differs in many aspects from its larger English counterpart. As an individual school has its own particularistic history within the fold of a system, so the history of Manx schooling presents itself as a separate, yet attached entity. To deny this is to deny the existence of regionality in any country's history, and Manx regionality, as has been seen, is framed by its associations with a Gaelic past as well as with the immediacy of the English presence.

In conclusion, it must be said that the history of Manx schooling has within it much that lends itself to further research. The three hundred years covered by this study represents a time-frame of considerable magnitude. The depth of inquiry and exposition had perforce to be limited on numerous occasions to maintain a balance of narrative. Similarly, it would have been all to easy to have included allied, but non-educational factors, to a greater degree, in order to demonstrate the susceptibility of schooling to such factors. This, however, would not have been in the best interests of a history of education, but, as

Bernard Bailyn has stated, the transformation of education turns upon the great axles of society -- family, church, community and economy.[24] One must acknowledge the presence of such forces in such a study, since schooling in isolation is emasculated social history. Therefore, to these forces, in the case of Manx educational history, must be added the axles of language (and accompanying anglicization), identity and the English mainland presence. These added axles are constants in their respective effects upon the history of Manx schooling, although they lessen somewhat in intensity as time progresses. The issue of language ceases to be of great importance to the Manx after 1800, but the mainland presence is a constant which rarely diminishes. The question of identity, cloaked in a Gaelic past, does bear upon many outcomes in the educational field. In this respect, it is important in the scheme of things, since the essence of "Manxness" and of the Manx way of doing things -- for better or for worse -- shows itself through the varying modes of the English model of schooling. Indeed, it cannot do otherwise, since the English model was operating in a non-English environment, albeit one which came to identify itself increasingly with English interests. For this reason, the conclusion presents no precis of what the previous chapters unfolded, but rather offers tinted lenses through which the Manx schooling process may be viewed.

If, as Bernard Bailyn suggests, education not only reflects and adjusts to society but in turn acts upon it,[25] then the history of Manx schooling may be of greater import to the social history of the Isle of Man than has been previously allowed. Hopefully, this study will make Manx historians more aware of the travails, failures, successes and effects of English schooling within the context of Manx social history. There is much which has yet to be explored in this fascinating area of study (and future studies may well look to the role of schooling in the shaping of society to a far greater degree than has been accomplished, or intended, here.) But whatever future scholarship may concentrate upon, or reveal, it is to be hoped that the history of Manx schooling will assume its proper place within the educational history of the British Isles; it deserves greater attention than it has previously been accorded in this sphere.

END

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[2] **D.G. Kermode,** Devolution at Work: A Case Study of the Isle of Man (Westmead, Farnborough, Hampshire: Saxon House, 1979), p. 104.

[3] When it is intended that Acts of Parliament shall apply to the Isle of Man, a section providing for its extension by an Order in Council is made. By convention, Parliament nowadays does not legislate for the Island without its consent in matters of taxation or of purely domestic concern, but it does in matters which "transcend the frontiers of the island." (see: Tony Faragher, ed., Isle of Man Official Yearbook, 1984 (Ramsey, Isle of Man: Motor in Mann Publications Ltd., 1984), p. 45.)

[4] Perhaps the most amicable arrangement between the two countries has been the "Common Purse" agreement, first broached in 1890. Here, a formula is applied against the revenues of the island, the Manx being allotted a share of customs duties according to the dictates of the formula. This agreement is still in operation at the present time.

[5] **Faragher,** Yearbook, p. 45. In furthering this objective, the Manx government will ostensibly seek recognition for the island as a fully self-governing territory, with the people having British rationality. The British government would continue to undertake responsibility for matters of defence, external affairs and the Royal Succession, consulting with the Manx government wherever possible. Additionally, increased participation by the Manx in Commonwealth, European and international organizations -- where such participation would be of direct benefit to insular interests -- is wanted. (idem, The Isle of Man Official Yearbook, 1985 (Tromode, Douglas, Isle of Man: Motor in Mann Publications Ltd., 1985), p. 45.)

[6] **Michael Hechter,** Internal Colonialism: the Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).

[7] **Ibid.,** p. 11. This is an unfortunate over-sight on Hechter's part. Data on Manx cultural, political and economic development is plentiful; only educational data -- in secondary form -- has been lacking to any degree, which, until the advent of this study, comprised either scattered articles, fragments of chapters or limited scholastic attempts at collation and interpretation. Had this study been available to Hechter a decade ago, Man may well have been more than an apologetic footnote in his work.

[8] **Ibid.**

[9] **Ibid.,** p. 59.

[10] **R.H. Kinvig,** The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural and Political History (Liverpool: University Press, 1975), p. 173.

[11] Interview with Mona Douglas, Douglas, Isle of Man, June 27, 1983.

Apart from her contributions to the Manx National Songbook (London: Stainer and Bell, 1928), Mona Douglas has published: This is Ellan Vannin Again: Folklore (Douglas: Times Longbooks, 1966); We Call it Ellan Vannin (Douglas: Times Longbooks, 1970) and "The Story of Manx Schools," Manx Life, May/June 1973, pp. 59-60. (see also: "An M.B.E. for Mona Douglas," Manx Life, March/April 1983, pp. 34-5.) This list is by no means complete, but gives an idea of her interests. She has recently published two novels, Song of Mannin and Rallying Song and edited the magazine Manninnagh. She was elected president of the Pan Celtic Festival, held in Killarney, Ireland, in 1980 and was an honoured guest at the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Machynlleth, 1982. She has contributed to journals and periodicals in the Celtic world for the better part of this century and is presently a working reporter for the Isle of Man Times.

[12] **Kermode,** Devolution, p. 4.

[13] **Margot Cameron-Jones and Dollin Kelly,** "Education in the Isle of Man, Education in Great Britain and Ireland (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 29.

[14] Distinctive Manx surnames became less frequent in parish registers, island directories and lodging house guides. The native Manx moved out of the island to the mainland, North America, Australia, New Zealand and Africa. Intermarriage with the newcomers further blurred a Manx-Gaelic identity. The net result was a population which viewed itself as being English, by dint of language and schooling, but Manx by dint of geography.

[15] **Hechter,** Internal Colonialism, p. 109.

[16] **Cameron-Jones and Kelly,** "Education in the Isle of Man," p. 28.

[17] **Robert Bell and Nigel Grant,** Patterns of Education in the British Isles (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1977), p. 112and p. 21.

[18] **Ibid.,** p. 21.

[19] **Cameron-Jones and Kelly,** "Education in the Isle of Man, " p.29. The above writers state that the Manx enrollment was 50 percent at both schools at the beginning of the 1970's. This is inaccurate: it was more like 30 percent and 50 percent for K.W.C. and the Buchan School respectively. See also: Ninety Eighth Annual Report of the Isle of Man Board of Education, 1970, p. 25. Of 353 students at K.W.C., 103 (29 percent) were day-boys, while the Buchan School's 267 students saw 161 (60 percent) as day-girls. The day-students have been designated as Manx, the resident students as "other."

[20] Hundred and Tenth Annual Report of the Isle of Man Board of Education, 1982, p. 75, Appendixes 9 and 10. Many boarders were also Manx, thereby increasing the number of Manx students in these schools, but exact numbers are not available. Therefore, all boarders are assumed to be non-Manx.

[21] Council of Education, Report on Secondary and Higher Elementary Education in the Island, by Cyril Jackson, Chairman (Douglas: Council of Education, July, 1906), pp. 6-10 and 56-57 (Appendix B).

[22] Interview with Mr. Alun Davies, LL.B., Director of Education for the Isle of Man, Douglas, Isle of Man, July 11, 1983.

[23] Almost all students take the Certificate of Secondary Education; 25 percent take the General Certificate of Education 'O' Level examination. Some five hundred Manx students are presently receiving post-secondary grants from the Isle of Man L.E.A. for attendance at mainland institutions.

[24] **Bernard Bailyn,** Education in the Forming of American Society (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc., 1972), p. 45.

[25] **Ibid.,** p. 48.

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APPENDIX A: Population 1726 - 1841

Sheadings	Parishes	Towns	1726	1757	1784	1792	1821	1831	1841	Increase since 1726
	Malew		890	1466	1861	3333	2649	2778	3085	2195
		Castletown	785	915	1318		2036	2062	2283	1498
Rushen	Arbory		661	785	912	1143	1455	1511	1615	954
	Rushen		813	1007	1451	1590	2568	2732	3079	2266
	Santon		376	507	589	512	800	798	769	393
	Braddon		780	1121	1214		1754	1927	2122	1342
Middle		Douglas	810	1814	2850	5045	6054	6776	8647	7837
	Onchan		370	434	560	690	1457	1482	2589	2219
	Marown		499	658	841	842	1201	1216	1318	810
	German		510	925			1849	1791	1896	1386
Glenfaba		Peel	475	805	2474	2505	1909	1722	2133	1658
	Patrick		745	954	1452	2153	2031	2195	2768	2023
	Lonan		547	869	1219	1408	1846	1923	2230	1683
Garff	Maughold		525	759	1079		1514	1341	1585	1056
		Ramsey	460	882	894	2007	1523	1754	2104	1644
	Lezayre		1309	1481	1680	1721	2209	2657	2323	1014
Ayre	Bride		612	629	652	678	1001	1039	1153	541
	Andreas		967	1067	1390	1555	2229	2217	2332	1365
	Jurby		483	467	637	713	1108	1097	1068	580
Michael	Ballaugh		806	773	871	1015	1467	1416	1516	710
	Michael		643	1826	980	1003	1427	1317	1376	733
		Total	14,066	19,144	24,924	27,923	40,081	41,758	47,986	33,920

Source: **Rev. J. G. Cumming,** The Isle of Man; Its History, Physical, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Legendary (London: John Van Voorst, 1848), p. 283.

APPENDIX B

Licence Granted by Bishop Wilson to
John Waterson of Castletown, 1698

Thomas, by divine permission, Bishop of Sodor and Mann, to our well-beloved in Christ, John Waterson of Castletown, health and Benediction. Whereas we are given to understand that there is great necessity of an English Schooll being diligently kept in the town of Castletown, within our diocese. This is therefore to authorise you to teach Schooll in the old Chappel at Castletown, & to instruct ye young Children of the said Township in Learning and good manners till our further pleasure be known to the contrary. And for your encouragement in so doing, you shall receive yearly out of the King's Benefactions and impropriations ye sum of five pounds, as also from each child you instruct (whose parents are of ability to pay it) you are hereby impower'd to demand sixpence for each Quarter.
Given under our hand & seal at Bishops Court this 23rd day of Septr. in the first year of our consecration, and in the year of our Lord 1698.

Tho: Sodor & Mann

If any of the children you teach have occasion to be instructed in the Latine tongue, or in Writeing and casting account, you are impower'd to demand ninepence a quarter from all such (if their Parents be of ability to pay it) tho' sixpnce only from others.

T.S.&M.

13th Oct., 1698. Exam. per me, J. Woods, Reg. Ep.

APPENDIX C

Receipts from Import and Export Cuties 1661 - 1763

Year	Imports	Exports	Total
1661	18	55	73
1663			62
1666			38
1673			104
1682			69
1693			102
1699			95
		Average	78
1702	110	23	133
1703	85	28	113
1704	72	25	97
1705	144	20	164
1706	175	25	200
1708	414	31	445
1710	231		231
1711	400	34	434
1712	183		183
1713	225	23	248
Average	204	21	225
1714	248	24	272
1715	412	42	454
1716	664	30	694
1718	1,241	18	1,259
1719	1,940	16	1,956
1720	2,065	11	2,076
Average	1,095	23	1,118
1728	579	19	598
1729	596	11	607
1730	943	5	948
1731	1,272	9	1,281
1732	1,233	7	1,204
1734	985	4	989
Average	939	9	948

No duties on exports after 1737

Year	Imports	Exports	Total
1738	1,730		1,730
1739	1,544		1,544
1741	1,238		2,238
1744	2,391		2,391
1745	2,470		2,470
1746	2,950		2,950
Average	2,291		2,291
1747	2,783		2,783
1748	4,553		4,553
1749	2,210		2,210
1750	4,334		4,334
1751	3,592		3,592
1752	4,677		4,677
Average	3,691		3,691
1754	5,944		5,944
1755	4,968		4,968
1756	4,794		4,794
1757	5,234		5,234
1758	5,180		5,180
1759	8,083		8,083
1760	7,094		7,094
1761	9,544		9,544
1762	6,391		6,391
1763	7,029		7,029
Average			6,422

Source: **A.W. Moore,** History of the Isle of Man 2 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900; reprint ed., Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 456-7 (above); p. 443 (below).

Salaries of Civil Officers

	1664	1673	1724
Governor	100 0 0	100 0 0	200 0 0
Deputy-Governor	60 0 0	50 0 0	100 0 0
Comptroller	25 0 0	29 13 4	13 13 4
Receiver	22 0 0	22 0 0	25 0 0
Deemsters(each)	15 0 0	15 0 0	15 0 0
Water-Bailiff	21 0 0	21 0 0	20 0 0
Steward of Abbey Lands	16 0 0	16 0 0	20 0 0
Attorney	10 0 0	11 0 0	10 0 0
Forrester	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0
Falconer	6 0 0	6 0 0	6 0 0

APPENDIX D

The Punishment of Being Dragged After a Boat

The 26th ecclesiastical law was that "common w-h-r-s be drawn after a boat in the sea during the Ordinaries appointment." The Episcopal Registry, dated March 15th, 1713, states:

"Forasmuch as neither Christian advice nor gentle modes of punishment are found to have any effect on Kath. Kinred of Kirk Christ, a notorious strumpet, who had brought forth three illegitimate children, and still continues to stroll about the country, and lead a most vicious and scandalous life on other accounts; all which tending to the great dishonour of the Christian name, and to her own utter destruction without a timely and thorough reformation. It is therefore hereby ordered (as well for the further punishment of the said delinquent as for the example of others) that the said Kath. Kinred be dragged after a boat in the sea at Peel, on Wed., the 17th inst. (being the fair of St. Patrick), at the height of the market. To which end, a boat and boat's crew are to be charged by the general sumner, and the constable and soldiers of the garrison are, by the Governor's order, to be aiding and assisting in seeing this censure performed. And in case in owner, master, or crew of any boat are found refractory, by refusing or neglecting to perform this service for the restraining of vice, their names are to be forthwith given in by the general sumner, to the end they may be severally fined for their contempt, as the Governor's order directs. Dated at Bishop's Court this 15th day of March 1713.

"THOS. SODOR AND MAN.
"WILLIAM WALKER."

The above order was endorsed:

"St. Patrick's Day being soe stormy and tempestuous the moe boate could preforme the within censure; upon St. German's Day (July 13th), about the height of the market, the within Kath. Kinred was dragged after a boat in the sea, according to t[illegible]tten order, which is humbly certified by me."

"THOMAS CORLETT, GENERALL-SUMNER."

Catherine Kinrade gave birth to a fourth illegitimate child in 1718. Accordingly, after being imprisoned for a further twenty-one days, and doing penance, she was ordered to be dragged behind a boat, on the 27th October, 1718. This was done, and, as she seemed penitant "according to her capacity," she was accepted back "into the peace of the Church."
Dated: August 13, 1720.

From: Manx Society's Publications, vol 11, pp. 98-99, quoted in: T.E. Brown, The Collected Poems of T.E. Brown (London: Macmillan and Company Ltd., 1900), pp. 47-48; and A.W. Moore, The Folk-Lore of the Isle of Man (Douglas: Brown and Son, 1891; repring ed., East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorkshire: S.R. Publishers Ltd., 1971), p. 177.

APPENDIX E

State of Manx Schooling 1818

Parish/Town	School Type	Enrollment	Salary/Revenue
Andreas	Parochial	150	£4 1 4
Arbory	Parochial	70	£6 13 0
Ballaugh	Parochial	90	£5 12 0
	Girls	50	
	Vernacular	60	
	Sunday	100-150	
Braddan	Parochial	100	£5 0 0
Douglas	Grammar	?	£25 0 0
	Lancasterian	270	
	Several Private	680	
Bride	Parochial	50	£5 0 0
German	Parochial	70	£6 0 0
Peel	Grammar	?	£6 0 0
	Free English	?	£20 0 0
	Mathematical	?	£23 9 2
	Girls	?	£2 10 0
	Lancasterian	?	
	(Peel total: 214)		
Jurby	Parochial	60	£5 0 0
Lezayre	Parochial	172	£6 12 0
	Girls	?	£10 16 1
Lonan	Parochial	80	£4 17 1
Malew	Parochial	70	£5 0 0
Castletown	Parochial	75	£5 10 0
	Grammar	10	£60 0 0
	Academic	4	£225 0 0
	Lancasterian	?	
Marown	Parochial	110	£6 15 6
Maughold	Parochial	40	£7 0 0
Ramsey	Grammar (defunct)	0	(£10 0 0)
	Lancasterian	80	
	Several Private	200	
	Sunday	?	
Michael	Parochial	110	£6 15 6
	Girls	?	
Oncham (sic)	Non-parochial	40	£9 0 0
	Non-parochial (private)	26	
	Sunday	45	

APPENDIX E (Contd.)

Parish/Town	School Type	Enrollment	Salary/Revenue
Patrick	Parochial	90	£4 17 0
Rushen	Parochial	77	£7 13 6
Santon	Parochial	40	£7 13 6
TOTALS	42 Day 4 Sunday* =46	2,758 255* =3,013	£499 19 9

Total number of inhabitants = 40,000
Total designated "poor" = 638

*There is some discrepancy with these figures: as of June, 1819, there were reportedly some 44 Sunday Schools, with 341 teachers and 3,447 scholars. This makes the above figures confusing, since it is doubtful that 40 schools would be opened in one year. Therefore, the smaller figures for Sunday-schooling may be taken as being subsumed within the larger figure. It is not unreasonable to assume that the four Sunday schools designated above were in measure slightly different from the rest, either in the length of time operated, or in the content offered. If the larger numbers are added to the regular day schools therefore, total island schools of all types reach 86, with a partially duplicated enrollment of 6,205 children attending some form of school in the course of any week. This places schooling as being 15.5 percent of the total population, while day-schooling alone is only 6.89 percent of the total population, a drastically reduced percentage. The former gives a ratio of 1 in 6.4 receiving some form of schooling, while the latter gives a ratio of 1 in 14.5 for schooling during the week. (There was one day school, excluding unnumbered private-venture establishments, for every 952 people, and, if all 84 day and Sunday schools are included, there was some form of school available for every 465 people.)

Source: Great Britain, Parliament, Parliamentary Papers (Commons), vol. 3 1818 "A Digest of Parochial Returns Made to the Select Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Education of the Poor." Island of Mann, pp. 1454-1458.

APPENDIX F

Population 1821 - 1981

Date of Census	Population	Date of Census	Population
1821 - May 27/28	40,018	1921 - June 19/20	60,284
1831 - May 29/30	41,000	1931 - April 26/27	49,308
1841 - June 6/7	47,975	1939 - estimate	52,029
1851 - March 30/31	52,387	1951 - April 8/9	55,253
1861 - April 7/8	52,387	1961 - April 2/3	48,133
1871 - April 2/3	54,042	1971 - April 25/26	54,581
1881 - April 3/4	53,558	1976 - April 4/5	61,723
1891 - April 5/6	55,608	1981 - April 5/6	64,697
1901 - March 31	54,752		
1911 - April 2/3	52,016		

Sources: **D.G. Kermode,** Devolution at Work: A Case Study of the Isle of the Isle of Man (Westmead, Farnborough, Hampshire: Saxon House, 1979), p. 10; Isle of Man Census Report, 1976 (Douglas: Bridson and Horrox, 1976), Table 1, p. 1.

Tony Faragher, ed., Isle of Man Official Yearbook, 1984 Ramsey: Motor in Mann Publications Ltd., 1984), p. 20.

N.B. Detailed statistics on the population movements of migration into and out of the island were not collected until 1966. The movements of persons during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are therefore unavailable in any detail.

APPENDIX G

Status of Schools in the Isle of Man - 1831

Parish	School	Master/Mistress	School's Income	Scholars	
German	Peel Grammar	Rev. James Gelling	£30 0 0	16	fee-paying
German	Mathematical	Joseph Dodd	£29 9 11	2	(not on foundation)
German	Christian's Petty	Thom. Quine	£20 0 0	70	
German	Bishop Wilson's	Margaret Kneale	£2 10 0	4-5	
German	Parochial, St. John's	Hugh Cannell	£9 0 9	40	
German	Vraney	John Quirk	£8 3 0	6-20	(winter-summer)
Marown	Parochial	-	£8 3 7	30-40	(2 free)
Lonan	Parochial	-	£8 3 7	40	(badly attended)
Onchan	Parochial	-	£8 12 2	30-40	
Michael	Parochial	-	£8 3 7	35	
Ballaugh	Parochial	-	£8 1 0	60-70	
Jurby	Parochial	-	£8 3 0	20	
Andreas	Parochial	-	£12 1 0	50	
Andreas	Kerroo Garroo	mistress	£1 11 0	20	
Lezayre	Parochial	Thomas Looney	£8 18 9	30-40	(15 during harvest)
Lezayre	Mrs. Christian's or Sulby	Mr. Killop	£12 15 9	30-40-50	

APPENDIX G (contd.)

Parish	School	Master/Mistress	School's Income	Scholars
Maughold	Ramsey Parochial	-	£14 16 5½	40
Maughold	Lhiaggyn	master	£2 7 10	20-30
Maughold	St. Paul's Monitorial (Bell's System) Ramsey	-	Voluntary subscription	196
Bride	Parochial	-	£10 5 0	30-40
Braddan	Parochial	-	£8 3 7	20-30
Braddan	East Baldwin	-	£3 0 0 circa	50
Braddan	St. Matthew's (Douglas Grammar)	-	£52 9 2	-
Braddan	Douglas Daily and Sunday (Monitorial-Lancasterian)		Voluntary subscription	280
Santon	Parochial	-	£13 3 7	50-60 (10 in winter)
Malew	Castletown Grammar	Rev. George Parsons	£64 14 6	26 (15 free)
Malew	Taubman's	John Norris	£20 0 0	45 (25 free)
Malew	Catherine Halsall's	Isabella Finnigan	£10 0 0	40 (20 free)
Malew	Castletown Petty	Thomas Cubbon	£8 1 0	16
Malew	Castletown National	Thom. & Anne Kewley	Voluntary subscription	196
Malew	St. Mark's Chapel	Rev. Thomas Clark	£31 11 7	30
Arbory	Parochial	-	£8 3 7	40
Rushen	Parochial	-	£15 5 11	40

Source: The Isle of Man Charities (Liverpool: D. Marples, 1831), pp. 68-129. Also: Joseph Train, An Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man 2 vols. (Douglas: Mary A. Quiggin, 1845) vol. I, pp. 264-70.

APPENDIX H

Data on the State of Manx Education, 1847

Schools: 52 elementary parochial/petty
Teachers: 56 - 36 male, 20 female
Salary of Teachers: average - £6 0 0; annual fees: £4 10 0. Total salary average = £10 10 0
Average Income of Schools: £14 0 0
System of Teaching Used: Monitorial - 21; "Old" - 27; Other - 5
Apparatus Used: Nothing - 24; Blackboards and Maps - 12; Cards, Maps and Globes - 3
Teachers Dependent upon Teaching: 33
Teachers Not Dependent upon Teaching: 26
Number of children attending no school: 950, with 34 schools unable to ascertain correct numbers
Number of children attending school: 2,752 - 1,387 boys, 981 girls
Number taught to read: 2, 038 (74 percent)
Number taught to write: 1, 193 (43 percent)
Number taught arithmetic: 1,004 (36 percent)
Number taught grammar: 309 (11 percent)
Number taught geography: 623 (23 percent)
Number taught history: 250 (9 percent)
Number taught composition: 193 (7 percent)
Number taught book-keeping: 10 (0.3 percent)
Number taught mathematics: 6 (0.2 percent)
Total salaries paid out: £342 19 6 (exclusive of fees)
Total fees paid in: £255 1 11
Total amount of salaries and fees: £791 16 5 (114 0 0 = average salary of teachers; also average income of schools)
Largest quarterages paid for: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic
Smallest quarterages paid for: Grammar, Geography, History, Composition

Sunday Schools: 50
Church of England: 17 (34 percent)
Wesleyan Methodist: 18 (36 percent)
Primitive Methodist: 12 (24 percent)
Roman Catholic: 2 (4 percent)
Other: 1 (2 percent)
Teachers: 753 (inaccurate breakdown of male/female numbers here)
Number of children attending: 3, 597 - 1,590 boys, 1,305 girls
Number of books in Sunday school libraries: 3, 015
How supported: public collection - 37 (74 percent)
private contribution - 6 (12 percent)
assorted/unascertained - 7 (14 percent)

Daily and Sunday schools furnishing no returns for either above sections of public education: 29 at least, including Grammar schools

Source: Teachers to the Committee of the Isle of Man Educational Library, A Statistical View of the State of Education in the Isle of Man, 1847 (Douglas: P. Curphey, 1847)

APPENDIX I

Totals of Revenue and Expenditure 1765-1866

Years	Revenue	Expenditure	Deficit	Surplus
	£	£	£	£
1766-1795	92,222	123,222	31,000	-
1796-1805	79,877	58,877	-	23,000
1806-1815	156,120	60,000	-	96,120
1816-1825	194,350	64,840	-	129,510
1826-1835	225,800	91,081	-	134,719
1836-1845	234,960	98,840	-	136,120
1846-1855	268,190	141,680	-	126,510
1856-1866	327,220	182,380	-	144,840
Total ...	1,578,739	818,920	31,000	790,819

Source: **A,W. Moore,** A History of the Isle of Man 2 vols. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900; repring ed., Douglas: Manx Museum and National Trust, 1977), vol 2, p. 648.

APPENDIX J

Summary of Schools, Scholars and Quarterages
1869-70

Number of schools surveyed: 57
Types: National, dame, grammar, private, parochial
Scholars as of December 31, 1869: 6,409
Scholars under four years of age: 235 (3.9 percent)
Scholars four to twelve years of age: 5,149 (80.3 percent)
Scholars over twelve years of age: 1,007 (15.7 percent)
Number of scholars paying quarterages: 5,638 (87.9 percent)
Amount of quarterages received: £1,662 3 8
Schools designated "female" for main teacher: 16 (20 percent)
Schools designated "male" for main teacher: 41 (80 percent)
Schools with 300+ pupils: 1 (1.75 percent)
Schools with 200-299 pupils: 8 (14 percent)
Schools with 100-199 pupils: 17 (29.8 percent)
Schools with 50-99 pupils: 20 (35 percent)
Schools with 1-49 pupils: 11 (19.2 percent)

Source: Educational Statistics Prepared by Order of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, December, 1869-70 (Douglas: Isle of Man Government, 1870)

The following year (1871) the Report of the Education Commission showed that there were 6,958 children in the Isle of Man under the age of five years, 10,244 children between the ages of five and twelve, giving a total of 17,202 between the ages of birth and twelve. The number of scholars on the books of schools as of April 3, 1871 totalled 7,941. The average attendance for the year ending April 3, 1871 was 5,561. In the critical age-group of five to twelve years, there were only 6,135 children on the books of the various schools; 4,109 children of this age-group were designated as being "not at school." This yields the percentage of 40 for those not attending any recognized school. For those under the age of five years, of 6,958 children so described, only 599 were on the books of schools (8.6 percent), while those who were in the twelve to seventeen age-group -- some 1,176 youngsters -- (plus 31 who were over the age of seventeen) yield a percentage of 15.1 of the total schooled group. (see footnote 31, Chapter VI for further information on this report)

Source: Report of the Education Commission, November 10, 1871 (Douglas: J. Brown and Son, 1871), Schedule Number 1, Parts 2,3,4 and 5: pp. 8-11.

The population of the island at this time (1871) was 54,042. As regards the education ratio, therefore, the resultant 1:6.8 was in keeping with what had been desired on the mainland during the 1850's, and with Horace Mann's Education Census in particular.

APPENDIX K

Secondary School Enrollment
1906

King William's College	193
Douglas Secondary School	175
Douglas Grammar School	55
Ramsey Grammar School	44
Castletown Grammar School	33
Castletown High School	17
Milntown, Ramsey	36
3 Girls' Private Schools, Douglas	140
2 Private Schools, Ramsey	51
1 Private School, Peel	6
	747

Girls total: 301

Boys total: 446

N.B. Those enrolled in the above schools were aged from eight years to over twenty years of age. Many were non-Manx students, especially at the private schools and King William's College. Exact figures are as follows:
Non-Manx students (K.W.C.): 129
Manx students (K.W.C.): 64
Pupil teachers: 88
Total Manx Secondary Students: 618
Those under twelve years of age: 187

Excluding those under twelve years of age, 519 students were calculated as receiving higher education, or 9.5 per thousand. The Bishop Wilson Theological School at Bishops Court (with seven students preparing for Holy Orders) was excluded from the survey. It must also be remembered that there were children in the numerous insular schools who were over the age of fourteen, positioned in standards two to seven, but who were not included (despite their age) in the above statistics, since there were not receiving education at a school classed as "secondary," but merely elementary.

Source: Council of Education, Report on Secondary and Higher Elementary Education in the Island, by Cyril Jackson, Chairman (Douglas: Council of Education, July, 1906), pp. 6-10 and 56-57 (Appendix B).